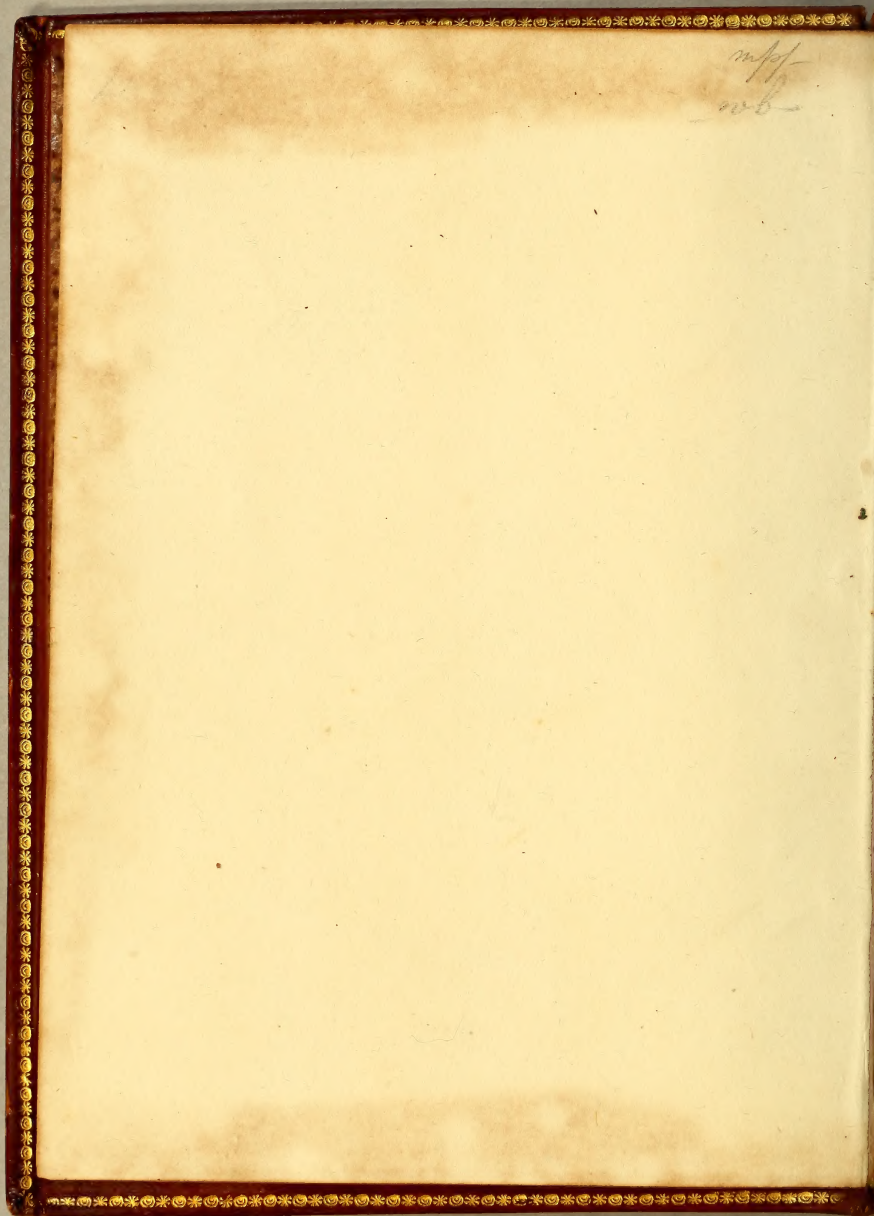


John Carter Brown.

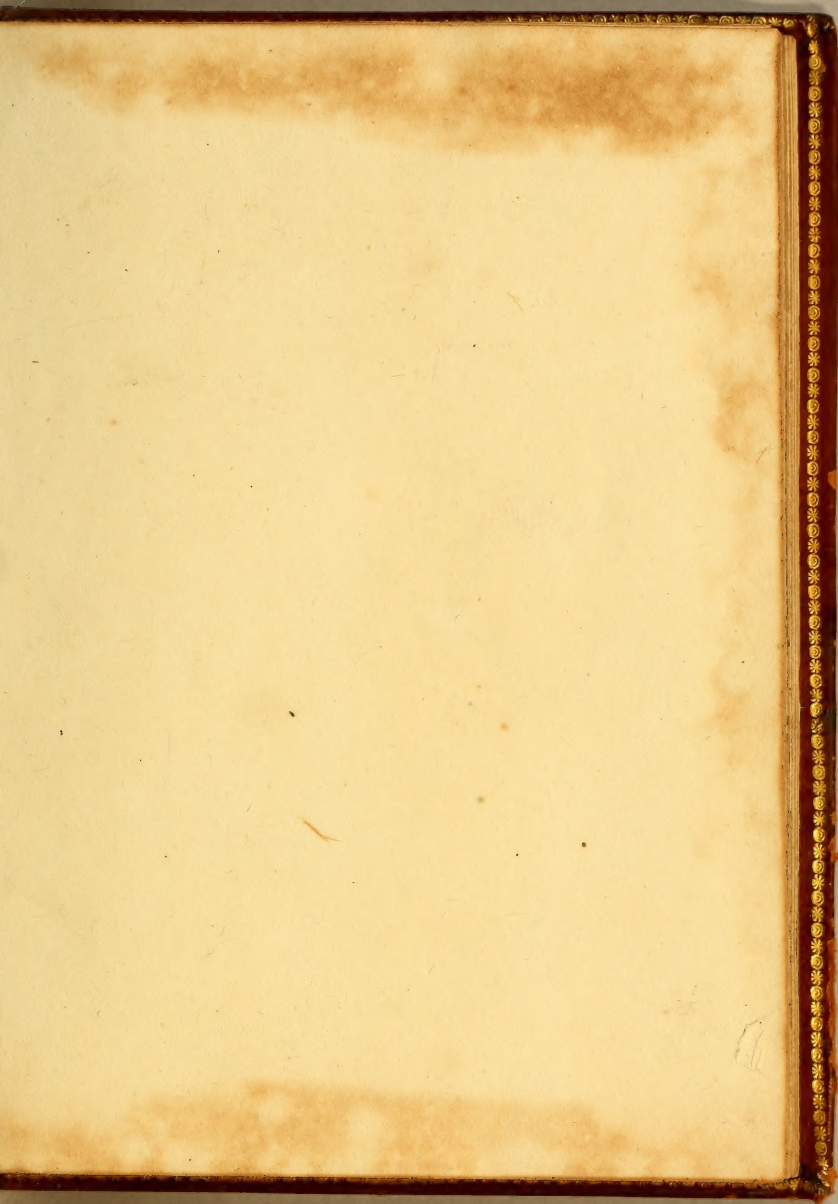










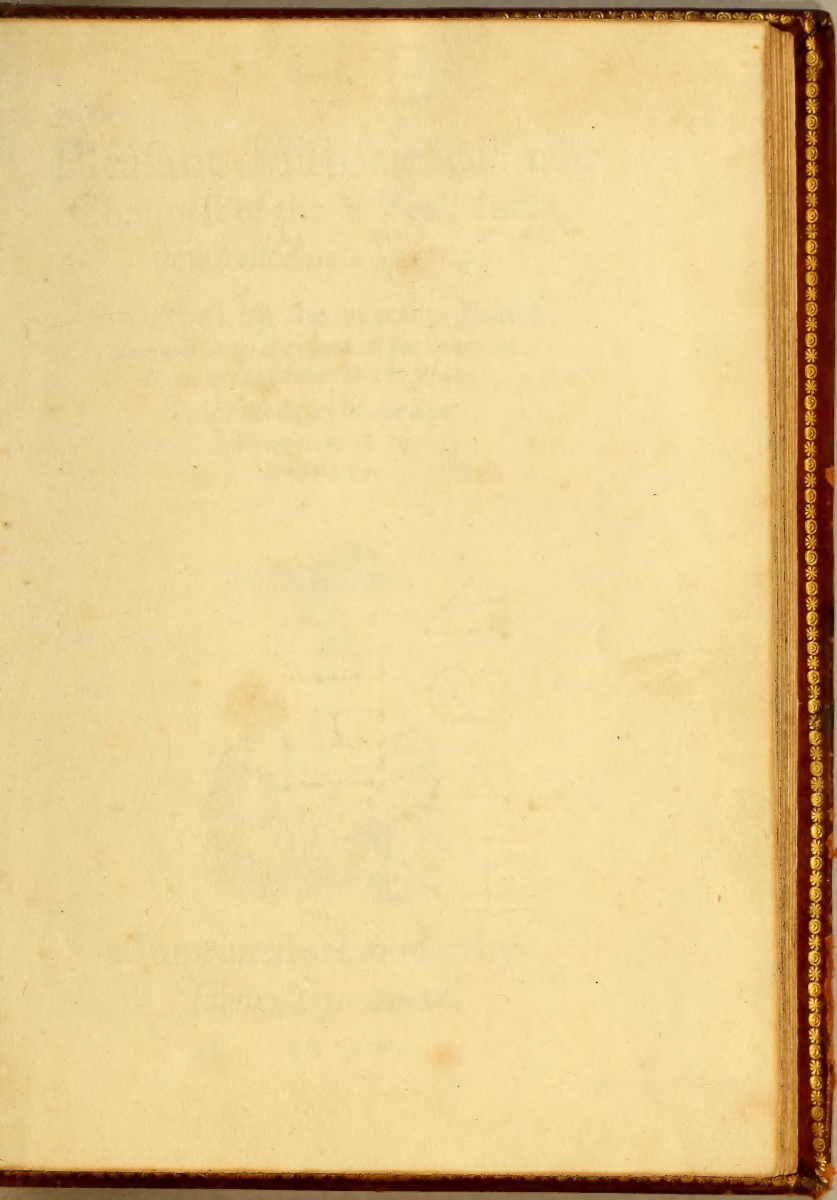




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189



THE  
Pleasant Historie of the  
Conquest of the VVeast India,  
*now called new Spayne,*

Atchieued by the vvorthy Prince

*Hernando Cortes Marques of the valley of  
Huaxacac, most delectable to Reade;*

Translated out of the Spa-  
nische tongue, by T. N.

Anno. 1578.



Imprinted at London by  
*Henry Bynneman.*

— 1578. —

THE  
Pleasant Historie of the  
Conquest of the VVest India,  
now called new Spaine,

Archimed by the worthy Prince  
a learned Court Spaniard of the Nation of  
the most noble and worthy  
Established out of the Spaine  
written by J. M.  
London: 1632.



Printed at London by  
Henry Byneman.  
1632.



TO THE RIGHT HO  
norable, Sir Francis VValsingham  
*Knight, principall Secretary to the*  
Queenes most excellent Maiestie,  
*and one of hir highnesse most Honorable*  
*private Counsell.*



Hilest I abode (right Honorable)  
in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of  
merchandize for the vvorshipfull  
*Thomas Locke* deceased, and his com-  
pany, time then permitted me, to  
haue cōference vvith auncient gen-  
tlemen vvhicke had serued in the Conquest of the  
vvest India, novve called nevv Spaine, vnder the  
princely Captaine *Hernando Cortez*. By vvhom as pre-  
sent vvitneses at many of the actes herein contay-  
ned, I vvvas credibly informed, that this delectable  
and vvorthy Historie is a most true and iust reporte  
of matter paste in effect: vvherefore I did the more  
vvillingly turne ouer and peruse the same, vvhicke  
is a Mirrour and an excellent president, for all such  
as shall take in hande to gouerne nevv Discoueries:  
for here they shall behold, hovv Glorie, Renovvne,  
and perfite Felicitie, is not gotten but vvith greate  
paines, trauaile, perill and daunger of life: here shall  
they see the vvisedome, curtesie, valour and pollicie  
of vvorthy Captaynes, yea and the faithfull hartes  
vvhicke they ought to beare vnto their Princes ser-  
uice: here also is described, hovv to vse and correct  
the stubbern & mutinous persons, & in vvhat order

a.ij.

to

JOHN CARTER BROWN

## The Epistle

to exalt the good, stout and vertuous Souldiers, and chiefly, how to preserve and keepe that bevvtiful Dame *Lady Victorie* vvhē she is obtayned. And vvhē it was supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and *VVeast India*, neare vnto the hote *Zoane*, (as moste learned vvriters helde opinion) it is novve approued by the venturous trauellour and vvorthy captaine *Martin Frobis/her* Esquire, yea and also through the greate paynes, procurement, and firste inuention of the vvorshipfull *Mychaell Locke* Merchaunt, that the same golden mettall dothe also lie incorporate in the bowvelles of the *Norvveast* parties, enuironned vvith admirable *Towvers*, *Pillers* and *Pynacles*, of *Rockes*, *Stone*, and *Ife*, possessed of a people bothe straunge, & rare in shape, attire and luying, yea suche a Countrey and people, as all *Europe* had forsaken and made no account of, excepte our moste gracious *Queene* and hir subiectes, vvhome vndoubtedly God hath appoynted, not onely to be supreme *Princesse* ouer them, but also to be a meane that the name of *Christ* may be knovven vnto this *Heathenish* and *Sauage* generation.

Not long since (right Honorable) I happened to trauayle from the famous Citie of *Toledo* in *Spayne*, tovvarde highe *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an auncient Gentlemen, vvorshipfully accompanied, vnto vvho I was so bold as to approach, beseeching his vvorship to aduertise me of his iourney: vvho (after he had beheld my white head & beard) answered full gently, that his intēt was to trauayle vnto the king  
of



## Dedicatory.

of Spaynes Court, and vvelcomed me vnto his company. In shortespace that vve had iourneyed together, and communed of each other his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follovveth: My good friende, if you knevv my sute vnto the Kings maiestie, you vwould iudge that I vv ere a mad man, and therefore to shorten oure vvay, I vvill declare my attempted sute vnto you. You shall vnderstande, that I am a Gentleman of lxx. yeares of age, and sometimes I serued in the ciuill vvarrs of *Pirru*, vvhere I vv as vvounded in diuers parts of my body, and am novv thereby lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue neyther VVife nor childe, and at this presente (God be praised) I haue in the Contrastation house in the Citie of *Siuill*, in golde and plate, the summe of thirtie thousande Duckates: and I haue also in *Pirru* in good lands and possessions, the yearely rente of vv elue thousande Duckates, vv hiche rentes and readye money is sufficiente to mainteyne a poore Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do novv sue vnto the Kings Maiestie, to haue licence and authoritie to discover and conquere a certayne parte of *India*, vv hyche adioyneth vv ith *Brazile* and is part of the Empire of *Pirru*, I pray you novve declare what you thinke of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your vv orship vv ill pardon a rash and sudaïne iudgemēt, which you now demand at my hād: yea truly (quoth he) say vv hat you list. Then (quoth I) my opiniō is, that you are not wel in your wit, for vv hat vv ould you haue? vv il not reason suffice you? or else vv ould you now in your old days bean Empe-

## The Epistle

considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Novve truly I thanke you (quoth he) for of youre iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seeke for no quiet rest in this transitorie life: yea the vvise and Christis an Doctōrs do teach and admonish, that euery true Christian is borne, not for his ovne priuate vvealth and pleasure, but rather to help and succoure others his poore breethren. Likevvise doe I consider the greate number of Gentlemen, yonger brethren, and other valiat persons, vvho through vvant of living, do fall into many disorders. VVherefore to accomplish my dutie tovvard God and my Prince, and to relecue such poore Gentlemen, do I novv attempte this iourney, vvith the aduenture of my bodye and goodes, and for that purpose I haue in readinesse foure tall Shippes, vvell furnished in the porte of *Saint Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredlye, that before the life depart from my body, to heare these valiante yong Gentlemen (vvhomenovv I meane to haue in my company) say, oh happie day, vvhen olde *Zarate* (for so is my name) broughte vs from penurie, yea and from a number of perils that vve vvēre like to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince shall be by my paynes and poore seruice enlarged: belecue you me, this is the onely sumptuous Tumble that I pretende to builde for my poore carkas. But yet I knowv there are some, vnto vvhome I may compare the Bore that lyeth vvallovvying in his Styē, vvho vvill not lette to saye, vvhat neede vve any other vvorld, honor, or Kingdomes: let vs  
be



## Dedicatory.

becontented vvith that vve haue: vvho may easily be aunſwered, Sir glutton, your paunch is full, and litle care you for the glory of God, honor of youre Prince, neyther the neede and neceſſitie of youre poore neyboures. VVith this conſuſion the Gentleman ended his tale, the iudgement vvhereof I leaue to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And vvhere oure Captayne *Hernando Cortez*, of vvhoſe valiant actes this hiftorie treateth, hathe deſerued immortal fame, euē ſo doubtleſſe I hope, that vvithin this happie Realme is novv liuing a Gentleman, vvhoſe zeale of trauayle and valiant beginnings dothe prognosticate greate, maruellous, and happie ſucceſſe: for perfection of honor and profite is not gotten in one daye, nor in one or tvvo voyages, as the true hiftories of the Eaſt and VVeſt Conqueſts by Spanyardes and Portingalles do teſtifie. And calling to remembrance the greate zeale and good vvill vvwhich your honor hath alvvayes extended to good and profitable attemptes, and eſpecially in the proceedings of the nev v diſcouery, youre honor hath not only vſed liberalitie in your aduētures, but alſo taken greate paynes in Courte, to aduance and further the voyage, a number I ſaye of Gentlemen, Marriners, and other artificers, ſhal haue great cauſe to pray for your honor. And vvhere I for my parte haue taſted of your honors goodneſſe ſundrye vvayes, I am novv moſt humbly to beſeech youre honor to accept this poore giſte, the vvliche I haue tranſlated out of the Spaniſh tong, not decked vvith gallant couloures, nor yet ſyled vvith pleaſant phraſe  
of

## The Epistle

of Rhetorike, for these things are not for poore Marchant trauellers, but are reserued to learned VVriters: yet I trust the Author vvill pardon mee, bycause I haue gone as neere the sense of this Historie, as my cunning vvoulde reach vnto. I also craue, that it may please youre honor, vvhen your greate and vvaightie businesse vvill permitte, to beholde this vvorke, and that shall be for me an encouragemente to take in hande the translation of the East India, vvhicke is novve enioyed by the King of

Portingall. Thus I ende, beseeching  
the Almighty to preferue your  
honorable estate.

(?)

Your honors most ready at commandement

Thomas Nicholas.





# The Conquest of the Weast India.

I

## The Byrth and lynage of

Hernando Cortez.



In the yeaere of our Sauour,  
1485. being kings of Castill and  
Aragon, the Catholike princes  
Fernando and Isabell his wyfe,  
was bozne Hernando Cortez in  
a towne called Medellin, situa-  
ted in the prouince of Andulo-  
zia: his father was named  
Martyn Cortez de Monroy, & his

mother was called Lady Katherin Pisarro Altamirano, they  
were bothe of godd byrth, and proceeded from foure prin-  
cipall houses, that is to say, the house of Cortez, the house  
of Monroy, the house of Pisarro, and the house of Altamira-  
no, which foure houses are auncient, noble and honozable:  
yet these parents but poore in gods, but riche in vertue &  
godd life, for which cause they were muche esteemed and  
beloued among theyr neighbours. His mother was of  
inclination deuoute, but somewhat harde: his father was  
charitable and mercyfull, who in his youth applied him-  
selfe to the warres, and was Liuetenant to a company of  
hofemen. Hernando Cortez in his childehood was very  
sickely, so that many tymes he was at the poynt of death:  
And when he came to xiiij. yeres of age, his parents sent  
him to the Vniuersitie of salamanca, where he remayned  
two yeaeres, learning Grammar, and then returned to  
Medellin werie of his studie, yea possible for want of mo-  
ney: yet his paréts were much offended with him for lea-  
uing his studie, for theyr onely desire was to haue had

him

him

him a student at lawe, whiche is a facultie both riche and worshipfull, considering their forme to be of a good witte and abilitie: Yet he caused muche strife in his fathers house, for he was a very unhappy ladde, high minded, and a louer of chivalrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke adventures. And at that instant happened two journeyes fit for his purpose & inclination. The one of them was to Naples wyth *Gonsalo Hernandez* of the Citie of *Cordona*, who was a worthy man, & named the great capitaine. And the other journey was to the West India, with the Lorde *Nicholas de Ouando*, a knight of the order of *Larez*, who was then appointed for governour of those parties. And musing with himselfe which waye to take, determined to passe into India, chiefly because the governour was of his acquaintance, and such a one as would haue care of him. And likewise the great desire of gold made him to couet that voyage more than the Journey vnto Naples. Now in the meane while that y<sup>e</sup> fleet was preparing for India, it chaunced, *Hernando Cartez* pretended to go vnto a certaine house in the night season to talke with a woman, and clymmyng ouer a Wall whych was of weake foundation, both he and the Wall fell together: So that with the noyse of hys fall, and rattling of his armour which he ware, came out a man newly married, and finding him fallen at hys doze would haue slayne hym, suspecting somewhat of his newe married wife, but that a certaine elde woman (being his mother in lawe) wyth great perswasions stayed him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fell into a grieuous Ague, and continued sicke for a long season, so that he could not proceede vppon his voyage with the governour *Ouando*. And when he had obtained and fullpe recovered his health, he mynded to passe into Italy, And so toke hys way towards *Kalientia* wandering



wandering here and there almoste a whole yeare w<sup>th</sup> much necessitie and penurie, and then returned home againe to *Medellyn*, with determination to proceed vpon his pretended voyage of *India*: And herevpon his father and mother waying their sonnes estate, desired God to blesse hym, and gaue him money in his purse for his iorney.

The age of Cortez vwhen he passed  
into India.



*Ernando Cortez* was of the age of nineteene yeares, in the yeare of Christ 1504. and then he went toward *India*, and agreed for his passage and victual with *Alonso Quintez* who went in companie of other four shippes laden with merchandise, whiche nauie departed from *saint Lucas de Barramedo*, with prosperous navigati<sup>o</sup>n, vntyll they arrived at the *Ilande of Gomera* one of the *Cauarie* *Ilands*, where they did prouide themselves of all things necessarie for so long a voyage as they then had in hand.

*Alonso Quintez*, being greedie of his voyage, and desirous to come to the *Ilande of sainto Domingo* befoze his fellowes, hoping to sel his commoditie the better, departed from *Gomera* in the night season without knowledge giuing vnto his company. But incontinent after he had hopled vp his sayles, arose vp so great a winde and tempest, that his maine mast brake, whereby hee was forced to resourne backe againe to the *Ilande of Gomera*. And he made earnest requeste to them of the other shippes to staye for him, vntyl hee hadde mended his Mast, who friendlye and neyghbourlye graunted his desire,

B.g.

and

and departed altogether, sayling in sight the one of the other certayne dayes: yet the sayde *Quintero*, seying the weather stedfast, and harpyng vpon gaynes, slewe from his sellowes agayne. And where as *Frances Ninio de Guelua* his pilote was not experte in that Nauigation, they knew not where they were at length: the Mariners did giue sundry Iudgements: the Pilote was in great perperitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their vnfortunate successe: the Master of the Shippe layde the faulte to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Master, for it did appeare that they were fallen out befoze. In this meane time their victuall waied skant, and their freshe water wanted, so that they prepared themselves to die. Some cursed theyr fortune, others asked mercie at Gods hande, looking for death and to be eaten of the *Carines*. And in this tyme of tribulation came a Doue flying to the Shippe, beyng on good Friday at Sunne sette, and satte him on the Shippe toppe: whereat they were all comforted, and toke it for a miracle and good token and some wept with ioy, some sayd y

Comfort of  
God.

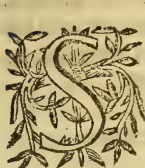
God had sente the Doue to comforte them, others sayde that lande was heare, and all gaue hartie thanks vnto God, directing their course that way that the Doue flew: and when the Doue was out of sighte, they sorrowed againe, but yet remayned with hope to see shortlye lande and on Easterday they discovered the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was firste discied by *Christopher Zorfo*, who cryed, lande, lande, a cherefull voyce to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knewe that it was the poynt, or cape of *Semana*, and within foure dayes after they arriued in the porte of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was long wished for, and there they founde the other Shippes of their company arriued many dayes befoze.

The



The time that Cortez abode

in Santo Domingo.



Done after that the Gouvernoure *Ouando* was in his regimente and office, *Cortez* arrivued at *Santo Domingo*, and the Gouvernours Secretarie, called *Medina*, receyued and lodged him, and also enformed him of the estate of the Iland, and advised him what was needefull to doe, wishing that hee would be a dweller there, and that he should haue a plot to build vpon, with certaine ground for husbandry. But *Cortez* his thought was cleane contrary, for hee iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby hee did little esteeme his friend *Medina* his counsell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, than to trauell in husbandrie. *Medina* yet perswaded him, that he shoulde take better aduise ment, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and very troubesome. This talke ended, *Cortez* went to kisse the Gouvernours handes, and to declare the cause of his comming, with other newes from *Extremadura* the Gouvernours Countrey. The Gouvernour friendly welcommed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell he accepted, and shortlye after wente to the warres, whereof was Captayne *Iaymes Velasques*, in the prouince of *Anigua Iagua*, and *Guacalarima*, and other Lordships whiche were not as yet pacified wth the late rebellion of *Anacoana* widdowe, who was a gentlewoman of great liuing. *Ouando* gaue vnto *Cortez* certayne Indyans in the Countrey of *Daigua*, and also the office of publike notarie in *Azua*, a towne whyche the Gouvernour had builded, and there dwelt *Cortez* fyue or syre yeares, and began to play the good husband. So in this meane season he would haue gone to *Veragua*,

Whiche,

whiche

which was reported to bee maruellous riche, with the Captayn *Iaymes de Nicuesa*: but bycause of an empoistume that he had vnder his righte knee, he went not, and as it happened, he was therein fortunate, for that thereby he escaped great perils and troubles, whiche happened to them that went on that voyage and iourney.

Things that happened to Cortez in  
the Ilande of Cuba.



The Lord *Iames Coler* being Admirall and chiefe Gouvernour of the new India, sent one *Iaymes Velasques* to conquer the Ilande of Cuba, in the yeare. 1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and other thinges necessarie. And then *Hernando Cortez* wente to that conquest as a Clarke to the Treasorer called *Michaell de Passamontes*, for to keepe the accounts of the Kings siftes and reuenewes, being so intreated and required by the same *Iaymes Velasques*, by cause he was holden for a man both able and diligente. And it followed, that in the repartition of the lands conquered, *Iaymes Velasques* gaue vnto *Cortez* the Indians of *Manicorao*, in coniunct company with his brother in lawe called *Iuan Xuarez*, wherebpon *Cortez* did inhabite in *Saint Iames de Barucoa*, whiche was the first place of habitation in that Ilande, whereas he bredde and broughte by him, Sheepe, and Pares, and was the first that hadde there any heard or flocke, and with his Indians he gathered great quantittie of golde, so that in short time he was rich, and toynd in company with one *Andres de Duero* a Merchaut, and put in two thousande Castlins for his stocke. He was also highly esteemed with *Iaymes Velasques*, and put in authorittie to dispatch businesse, and to  
give



give order for edifices. In his tyme he caused a money  
 house to be built, & also an Hospital. At that tyme one *Iuan*  
*Xuarez* naturall of the Citie of *Granada*, carried to the  
 Ile of *Cuba* his mother and three sisters, whiche came to  
 the Island of *Santo Domingo*, with that vicequene the  
 Lady *Mary* of *Toledo*, in Anno. 1509. hoping to marrie  
 them there with rich men, for they were very poore. And  
 the one of them named *Cathelina* was wont to say, That  
 she shoulde be a greate Gentlewoman: it was eyther by  
 dreames and fantasies, or else some Astronomer hadde  
 made hir beleue so, but hir mother was reported to bee  
 very cunning. The maydens were beautifull, for which  
 cause, and also being there but fewe Spanishe women,  
 they were muche made of, and often feasted. But *Cortez*  
 was woer to the saide *Cathelina*, and at the ende married  
 with hir: Although at the first there was some strife a-  
 bout the matter, and *Cortez* put in prison, because he re-  
 fused hir for his wife, but she demanded him as hir hus-  
 band by faith and troth of hand: wherein *Iaymes Velasques*  
 did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hers  
 which he had, but of an euil name. It so fell out that one  
*Baltazar Bermudez*, *Iuan Xuarez*, and the two *Anthony Ve-*  
*lasques*, with one *Villegas* accused *Cortez*, that he ought to  
 marrie with *Cathelina*, yet those witnessles spake of euill  
 will many things, as touching y<sup>e</sup> affaires committed to his  
 charge, alleadging y<sup>e</sup> he vsed secret dealing with certaine  
 persons. The which causes although they were not true,  
 yet they carried great colour therof. For why: many went  
 secretly to *Cortez* his house, complayning of *Iaymes Velas-*  
*ques*. Some because they had not iust reparation of the co-  
 quered *Indias*, and other some not according to deserte.  
 Contrariwise *Iaymes Velasques* gaue credit to his talebea-  
 rers, because *Cortez* refused to marrie w<sup>th</sup> *Cathelina Xuarez*,  
 & vsed vn courteous words vnto him in y<sup>e</sup> presence of many

that stood by, and also commaunded him to warde. And when Cortez sawe himsele in the stocks, he feared some proces of false witnesse, as many times dothe happen in those parties. At time conueniente he brake the locke off the stocks, and layde hand vpon the Sword and Target of the keeper, and brake vp a windowe, escaping thereby into the streete, and toke the Church for Sanctuary. But when Iaymes Velasques had notice thereof, he was greatly offended with Christopher Lagos the Tayler, saying, that for money he had losed him: wherefore he procured by all meanes to plucke him out of the Sanctuary. But Cortez hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resiste and withstand his force. Yet notwithstanding one daye Cortez walking befoze the Church doze, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Sericant called Iohn Esquier and others, and then was put aboard a Shippe vnder hatches. Cortez was welbeloued among his neighbours, who did well consider the euill will that the Gouvernour bare vnto him. But nowe Cortez seeing himsele vnder hatches, despaired of his libertie, and did verily thinke, that he shoulde be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of Santo Domingo, or else to Spayne, who being in this extremitie, soughte all meanes to get hys foote out of the chayne, and at length he got it out, and the same nighte he changed his apparell with a ladde that serued him, and by the Pump of the Shippe he got out, not heard of any his keepers, climbing softly along the Shippe syde, he entred the Skiffe and went hys way therewith, and bycause they shoulde not pursue after him, he losed the Boate of another Shippe that roade by them. The Currant of Macaguanigua a riuer of Barucoa, was so fierce, that he could not gette in with his Skiffe, because he had no help to row, & was also very werie, fearing to be drowned if he should put himsele to the land,

where

Cortez  
escapeth.



wherefoze he stripped himselfe naked, and tyed a nyght-kerchiefe aboute hys head, with certayne wyppings apperteyning to his office of Potarie and Clearkshippe to the Treasourer, and other things that were agaynst the Gouvernoure *James Velasques*, and in this sorte swamme to lande, and wente home to hys owne house, and spake with *Iohn Xuarez* hys bzother in law, and toke Sanctuarie agayne with Armour. Then the Gouvernoure *James Velasques* sente hym worde, that all matters shoulde bee forgotten, and that they shoulde remayne friendes, as in tyme past they hadde bin, and to goe with hym to the Warres agaynst certayne Indians that hadde rebelled. *Cortez* made hym no aunswere, but incontinent married with mistresse *Catalina Xuarez* according to his promise, and to lye in peace. *James Velasques* proceeded on hys journey wpyth a greate companie agaynst the Rebelles. Then sayde *Cortez* to hys bzother in lawe *Iohn Xuarez*, byng me (quoth he) my Launce and my Crossebowe to the *Totonos* ende. And so in that evening hee wente out of Sanctuarie, and taking hys Crossebowe in hande, hee wente with his bzother in lawe to a certayne ffarme, where *James Velasques* was alone, with his householde seruauntes, for hys armie was lodged in a Village thereby, and came thither somewhat late, and at suche tyme as the Gouvernoure was perusing hys Booke of charges, and knocked at his doze which stode open, saying: Here is *Cortez* that woulde speake with the Gouvernoure, and so wente in. When *James Velasques* sawe hym armed, and at such an houre, he was marvellously afrayde, desiring hym to rest hymselfe, and also to accepte hys Supper: Po Sir (quoth he) my onely coming is, but to knowe the complayntes you haue of me, and to satisfie you therein, and also to bee youre friende and seruito. They then embraced eache other in token

C.

The Gouvernoure  
was fore  
afrayde.

of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where *James de Orrelano* founde them, who went to carrie newes to the Gouvernoure, how *Cortez* had fledde. After this fort came *Cortez* agayne to his former friend-shippe with *James Velasques*, and proceeded with him to the *Marres*, but afterwarde at his returne, he was lyke to haue bin drownded in the sea: For as he came from the *Canes of Bari* to visite certayne of hys Shepheardes and *Indians* that wought in the *Spines of Barrucoa* where his dwelling was, his *Canoa* or little boate ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempeste, wherby he was put to his shiffes, and forced to swimme, and happened to espye lyght that certayne Shepheardes had which were at supper nere the Sea side. By suche like perils and daungers, runne the excellent menne their race, vntill that they arriue at the *Hauen* where their good lotte is preferred.

### The discoverie of newv Spayne.



*Fraunces Hernandez de Cordoua* did first discover *Xucatan*, going with three Shippes for *Indians*, or else to barter. These Shippes were sette forth by *Christopher Morante*, and *Lope Ochoa de Saizedo*, in Anno. 1517. And although he brought home nothing at that time but *Stripes*, yet he brought perfect relation, how the Countrey was rich of gold and siluer, and the people of the countrey clothed. Then *James Velasques* Gouvernoure of the Island of *Cuba*, sent the next yeare following his kinsman, called *Iohn de Grijalua*, with two hundred *Spanyarden* in foure Shippes, thinking to ob-  
tayne much gold and siluer for his Merchandise at those places, which *Fraunces Hernandez* had enformed him: So  
that



that Iohn de Grijalua wente to *Xucatan*, and there foughte with the Indians of *Champoton*, and was hurt. From thence he entred the river of *Tauasco*, which *Grijalua* hadde so named, in the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchange golde, cloth of cotten woad, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at *Saint Iohn de Vlhua*, and toke possession for the King, in the name of *James Velasques*, and there also exchanged his Haberdasherie wares, for Golde, and Couclets of cotten, and feathers: and if he hadde considered his good fortune, he would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as *Cortez* was. But suchewealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused himselfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in traffike of his Marchandise, and to discover whether that land of *Xucatan* were an Ilande, or no. And finding it a mayne land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to *Cuba*, among whome, was one *Pedro de Aluado*, who was farre in loue with a woman of that countrey. So they determined to returne, with relation to the Governoure of such things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardes along the coast to *Panuco*, and so came to *Cuba*, to the greate griefe of many of his company. Pea some of them wept, with sorrowe that hee would not abide in that rich countrey. He was five monethes vpon his voyage homewarde from land to land, and eyght monethes till his returne to the Citie. But when he came home, the Governoure hauing hearde of his proceedings, would not loke vpon him, whiche was his iust reward.

Mentangled in foolish loue.

C.ñ.

The

# The Conquest of The Inuentorie of the treasure that Gryalua brought for his wares.



John de Gryalua bought of the Indians of Potonchan, Saint Iohn de Vlhua, and other places of that coast, suche thynges as made his fellowes farre in loue with the Countrey, and loth to depart from thence. The workmāship of many of the things that they bought, was moze worth than the thing it selfe, as this Inuentory particularly doth shew.

## The Inuentory.

**A** little Idoll of golde hollowe.

A greater of golde, with hornes and beare, with a string of beadestones aboute his necke, and a flyeslappe in his hand, and a little stone for his nauell.

A pce of golde, like the patent of a Chalice, garnished with stones.

A Skull of golde, with two hornes, and blacke beare.

Two and twenty earerings of golde.

Two and twenty pces of an other fashion.

Four braceletes of golde very broade.

A payre of beades of golde, the stones hollowe, wyth a frogge of golde hanging at the same.

Another paire, with a Lyon of golde.

A great paire of earerings of golde.

Two little Eagles of golde hollowe.

A little Saltseller of golde.

Two earerings of golde with Turkie stones.

A collar to hang aboute a womans necke, of twelue pces, with four and twenty stones hanging thereat.

A great collar of golde.

Sire little collers of golde thynne.



Seauen other collers of gold with stones.  
Foure earerings of golden leafe.  
Twentie fishinghawkes of golde.  
Twelue graines of gold, waying fittie Duckets.  
A headlace of gold.  
Certaine thinne planches of gold.  
A Potedge pot of gold.  
An Idoll of golde hollowe.  
Certaine thinne bꝛouches of gold.  
Pine beade stones of gold.  
Two payze of gilt beades.  
One payze of wodden beades gult.  
A little cuppe of golde, with eighte purple stones, and  
twentie thꝛe stones of an other collour.  
Foure belles of gold.  
A little sauser of gold.  
A little boze of gold.  
Certaine smal collers of gold of smal value.  
A hollow apple of gold.  
Fourtie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in  
two thousand five hundred Duckets.  
A whole harness or furniture for an armed man of gold  
thinne beaten.  
An other whole armour of wood with leanes of golde,  
garnished with little blacke stones.  
A certaine piece made like vnto a feather, of an hyde and  
gold ioyntly wrought.  
Foure pieces of armour of wood made for the knees, and  
couered with golden leafe.  
Two targets couered with feathers of many and fyne  
colours.  
Diuerse other targets of gold and feathers.  
A tuffe of feathers of sundꝝ colours, with a little byꝝd in  
the middest, very liuely.

A wing of gold and feathers.

Two flyflappes of feathers.

Two little chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with many trimme stones, and some syne, & among them there was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.

Certaine beades of tinne.

Five paire of wooden beades rounde and couered wylh a leafe of gold very thinne.

A hundred and thirty hollow bead stones of gold.

Many beades of wodde gilt.

A paire of Siffers of wod gilt.

Two gilt vissoz.

A vissoz of strange gesture of gold.

Four e vissoz of wod guilt.

Four e dishes of wod couered with golden leafe.

A dogges head of gold beset with stones.

An other beastes head garnished with gold.

Five paire of rush shwes.

Thre red bides.

Seven rasoz of flint stone, soz to cut by men that were sacrificed.

Two painted dishes of wod with an Ewer.

A garnēt with halfe stēues of feathers of exceding fine colours.

A couerlet of feathers.

Many couerlets of cotten very fine.

Many other couerlets of cotten course.

Two kerchiefs of good cotten.

Many perfumes of sweete odoz, much of that countrey fruite.

They also bzought a gentlewoman that was giuen thē, and other prisoner Indians. And soz one of them was offered bys weight in golde, but *Grijalna* woulde not take it.

They



They also brought netoes that there were *Amazons* women of warre, in certaine Ilandes, and manye gaue credit, being amazed at the things that they had brought bartered for things of a vile price: as here vnder appeareth the Merchandise that they gaue for al the aforesaid Jewels.

The Inuentorie of the Spanish Merchandise.

Three course shirts.  
Three paire of Maryners breeches of linnen.  
Five paire of womens shoes.  
Five broad leatherne girdels wrought with coloured thread, with their purses.  
Manye purses of shepes skinne.  
Sire glasses a little gilt.  
Foure bouches of glasse.  
Two thousand beadstones of glasse greene.  
A hundred paire of beades of diuerse colours.  
Twenty wooden combes.  
Sire paire of Silfers.  
Fiftene knives great and small.  
A thousand taylers needels.  
Two thousand pinnes of sopts.  
Eight paire of corded shoes.  
A paire of pinfers and a hammer.  
Seauen red night cappes.  
Three coates of colours.  
A freese coate with a cap of the same.  
An old greene veluet coate.  
An alde veluet cappe.

The

The determination of Cortez to prepare a  
*Navie for discoverie.*

**B**ecause John de Grijalua was absent a longer season than was Francisco Hernandez de Cordona, before his returne, or giving advise of his proceedings, the governour Valasques prepared a Caruel, and therein sent one Christofer de Olid, for to seeke Grijalua with succor if need wer, and gave Olid great charge, that he should returne with newes from Grijalua with all speede. But this messenger taried but a small while upon his voyage, and saw but little of Yucatan, and not finding Grijalua, he returned backe againe to Cuba, which returne happed not wel for the governour nor yet for Grijalua. For if he had proceeded forth the on his way to Saint John de Ulua, hee had then mette with whom he sought for, and likewise caused him to have inhabited there. But he excused himself, alleaging that he had lost his ankers, and was therefore forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as Olid was departed on that voyage, Pedro de Alvarado returned to Cuba, wyth full relation of the discoverie, & brought many things to hym, wrought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotton wool. The governour James Valasques rejoyced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniards of Cuba wondered therat, and likewise to heare the whole relation of the journey. Yet the governour feared the returne of his kinsman, because some of his compaignie that came sicke and diseased from those parties, saide that Grijalua meained not to inhabit there, and that the people and land was great, and also how the same people were warlike: likewise the governour feared the wisdomie and courage



courage of his kinsman. Wherebypon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with souldiers and armoy, and other trifling things, thinking chiefly to enrich himself by barter, and also to inhabite by force. He requested one *Baltazer Vermudez* to take that voyage in hand, who accepted the offer, but he demaunded three thousand duc-kets for his furniture and prouision. Their gouernour hearing this demaund, answered, that in suche sorte the charges would be more than the profite: And so for that tyme leste off the matter, because he was couetous, and loth to spend, thinking to prouide an army at other mens cost, as he had done before, when *Grijalua* went firste on that voyage, for at that time one *Francisco de Montez* did furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called *Alaunso Fernadex*, *Porto Carero*, *Alaunso de Auila* & *James de Ordas* with manye others, wente with *Grijalua* at theyr proper costes and charges. It followed that the gouernour brake the matter to *Cortez*, & required that the voyage should be set forth betwixte them, knowing that *Cortez* had two thousand Castlyns of gold in the power of one *Andres de Duero*, a merchaunt, and also that *Cortez* was a man diligent, wise, and of skoute courage. *Cortez* being of haughtye stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much. &c. So that the voyage and agramente was concluded, wherbypon they sent one *Iohn de Sanz:do* to the kings coun-sel and chauncery, resident in the Iland of *Santo Domingo*, who were then religyous persons, to haue and obtain of them licence, frelpe to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discouerie, and also to sake for *Iohn de Grijalua*, for they imagyned that wythout hym small trafficke woulde bee hadde, whyche was, to ex-change trifles of *Haberdashe* for golde and syluer. The chiefe rulers of gouernemente at that tyme

in þ kingly counsell there, were these following, *Señior Alouso de São Domingo*, *Señior Luys de Figueroa*, & *Señior Barnardo de Munfánedo*, who graunted the licence, and appointed *Hernando Cortez* for captaine Generall of the voyage, and setteth forth in company of *James Velasques*. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Surueyours to procure for the kings portion or parte, whych was according to custome one fiftie parte. In thys meane season *Cortez* prepared hymselfe for the Journey, and communed wyth his especiall friendes to see who woulde beare hym company: And hee founde thre hundred men that agréed to his request. He then bought a Caruell and Aergantine, and another Caruell that *Pedro de Aluaredo* brought home. An other Aergantine he had of *James Velasques*: he prouided for them armour, artillery, and other Munition: hee brought also wyne Dyle, Beanes, Pease, and other victuals necessarpe: he toke vp also vpon his credite, of one *James Saucedo* muche Haberdashie, to the value of seauen hundred Castlyns in golde. The gouernour *Velasques* deliuered vnto hym a thousande Castlyns whych he possessed of the goods of one *Pamfilo de Naruaiz* in his absence, alleaging that he had no other money of his owne proper. And beeing in thys manner agréed, the Articles and Cotenauantes were drawen and set doونه in wytyng, befoze a Notary, called *Alouiso de Escalantes*, the thre and twenty day of October Anno. 1518.

The coming  
ome of  
Crispian.

In this meane time arrived at Cuba, *John de Grijalua*, vpon whose arriuall, the gouernour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for hee refused to disburse any moze money, nor yet would consent that *Cortez* should furnish his Paule. For the onely cause was, that he ment to dispatch backe againe his kinsman and his army. But to behold the stout courage of *Cortez*, his charges, and liberalty



beralltie in expences, it was straunge, and to see how hee was deceiued. And also to consider, the flatterie and deceite of his aduersarie, yea what complaints were made to the Lord Admiral, saying that Cortez was subtil, high minded, and a louer of honoz, which were tokes that he wold rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he woulde reuenge olde griefes. Also it grieved Vermudez that he had not accepted y<sup>e</sup> voyage, vnto wh<sup>o</sup> it was once offered, seeing the great treasure that Grijalua had brought, & what a rich land the countrey newly discovered was. Also he pretended that y<sup>e</sup> gouernoz wold be chieftain of y<sup>e</sup> fleet, although his kinsman were not fit for y<sup>e</sup> rowe. The gouernoz also thought y<sup>e</sup> he being slacke, Cortez wold also be slacke. But yet he seeing Cortez earnestly proceed, he sent one Amador de Larez a principal mā, to intreate him to leaue off y<sup>e</sup> voyage (considering y<sup>e</sup> Grijalua was returned) and y<sup>e</sup> he wold pay him al y<sup>e</sup> costs & charges y<sup>e</sup> he had layd out. Cortez vnderstanding the gouernozs minde, made answer vnto Larez, y<sup>e</sup> he wold not leaue of the Iorney, for very shame, noz yet breake the agrément made. And also if Valasques wold send a paay for his owne account, he woulde be contente, for (quoth he) I haue already my licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And the he conferred with his friends, to knowe their mindes if that they wold sauaour and beare him cōpany, at whose handes he found both ready helpe and friendshippe. Hee sought then for money, and toke vp vpon his credit foure 99. Castlyns in gold, of his friend Andreas de Duero, & of Pedro de Xerez & others. With y<sup>e</sup> which money he bought two shippes, 6. hozles, & much apparel, & began to furnish a house & kepe a good table for cōmers & goers: he went also armed like a captaine, & many wayting & attending vpon him, whereat diuerse murmured, saying that hee was a Lord without rente. In this meane while came

The gouernour  
nour an  
old enemy.

Courage of  
Cortez.

D. y.

Grijalua

*Grijalua* to the Cittie of *Sainte James de Cuba*: but by a kinsman the gouernour would not loke vpon hym because he had lefte and forsaken so riche a lande. Also it grieued him inwardlye that *Cortez* proceeded thitherward so strong and mightye, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or lette hym, and to see the greate traine that wayped vpon hym wyth manye of them that had byn the other voyage with *Grijalua*: yea if that he should disturbe him, bloud shedde would follow in the Cittie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorow. Yet (as many asseyne) hee commaunded that hee shoulde haue no victuals solde vnto hym. So *Cortez* departed from thence, proclayming himselfe for General, and that the gouernour *Valasques* had nothing to doe wyth his Spanie, requesting his soldiers to embarke themselves wyth such victuals as they had. He also bargayned wyth one *Fernando Alfonso* for certayne Hogges and Sheepe that were prepared for the shambles, and gaue vnto hym a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also moneye, to pay the penaltie that the butcher sel into for not prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed fro *Saint James de Baracoa* the eighteenth of Nouember, with about thre hundred Spaniards in fife shippes.

The nauie and men that *Cortez* caried  
with him to the Conquest.



*Ortez* departed from *Saint James de Baracoa* with small prouision of victuals for suche a number of men, and also for the nauigation whych as yet was vncertaine. And beeyng out of that parte, he

he sent *Pedro Xuares Gallinazo* with a *Caruell* to *Iaymaica* for vittayles, commaunding him, that those things which he should there buy, to goe therewith to *Cape de Corrientes*, or to *S. Anthonies point*, which is the farthest part of that Island Westward. And he himselfe wente with his companye to *Macaca*, and boughte there greate quantitie of bread, and some Hogges, of one *Taymaio*. Then he proceeded to the *Trinitie* Islande, and there boughte, another Shippe of one *Alonso Guillen*. And of peticulare persons he bought three Horses, and five hundred bushels of Cozne. And being there at roade, he had aduice, that *John Nonex Sedenio* passed that way with a Shippe laden with victuals, for to make sale thereof at the *Spynes*. Whereupon he sente *James de Ordaz*, with a *Caruel* well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto *S. Anthonies point*. *Ordaz* went and toke him at the Channell of *Lardines*, and brought him to the place appointed. *Sedenio* broughte the register of his marchandise, whiche was greate store of bread, Bacon, and Venues: *Correz* gaue him chaynes of golde, and other pieces for payment, and a bil for the rest. In consideration whereof, *Sedenio* wente with him to the Conquest. In the *Trinitie* Islande *Correz* gathered together two hundred men more, who had bin in *Grijalua* bys company, and were dwellers in that Island, and in *Matanzas*, *Carenias*, and other Villages, and sending his ships for ward, he went with his men by land to *Hauana*, which was then inhabited on the South side in the mouth of the riuer called *Onicaxinall*, but there they would sell him no prouision, for feare of the *Gouernour Velasques*. But yet one *Christopher Galsada* rentgatherer to the Bysshoppe, and recepuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great store of Bacon and bread of that Countrey called *Maiz*, and other prouision, whereby his fleet was reasonably prouided, &c. And then he beganne to distribute his men and

D. 14.

vittayles



hittaples abowde eache vessell in god order. Then came Aluado with his caruell, with his other friends Christopher de Olid, Alonso de Auila, Francisco de Monteio, & many others of Grijalua hys company, who had bin to talke with the Gouvernour Velasques. And among them came one Garnica so called, with letters for Cortez from Velasques, wherein he wrote, desiring him to abide there, for that he meant to come himselfe, or else to send vnto hym, to treat of matters profitable for them both.

A snare  
lay de for  
Cortez.

Also, the sayd Gouvernour sente other secret letters to James de Ordaz and others, requiring them to apprehende and take prisoner Cortez. Powe Ordaz did inuite Cortez to a banquet abowde his Caruel, thinking by that meanes to catche Cortez in a snare, and so to carrie him prisoner to the Citie of Saint James de Barocoa, but Cortez vnderstood the matter, and fained hymselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some vyzoze, he went abowde his Shippe Admiral, and shot off a peece of Ordnance, giuing warning to his Raie to be in a readinesse to make sayle, and to follow him to Saint Anthonies poynte, whiche was done with expedition, and there in the Towne of Guani Guaniga he mustered his men, and found fve hundred and fiftie Spaniards, wherof fiftie were Parriners. He denided them into eleuen companies, and appointed these persons following for Captaynes, that is to say, Alonso de Auila, Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero, James de Ordaz, Francisco de Monteio, Francisco de Morla, Francisco de Salzedo, John de Escalante, John Velasques de Leon, Christopher de Olid, and one Escobar, and he himselfe as Generall toke one Company. He made these many Captaynes, because his whole flecte was eleuen sayle, and that each of them shoulde feuerally be Captaynie, both of Shippe and men. He also appoynted for chiefe Pilote Antonio de Alaminos, who had taken charge befoze with Francisco de Hernandez,

mandez de Cardona, and Grijalua, &c. He carried also 200 Indians, bozne in y<sup>e</sup> Ile of Cuba, to serue and to carrie baggage, & also certayne Negroes with some Indian womē, and Artene Horses & Mares, with great prouision of Bacon, corne, bisket, hennes, wine, oyle, pease, and other frutes, w<sup>th</sup> great store of Haberdash, as Belles, necklaces, beades of glasse, collers, paints, pinnes, purses, nedels, girdels, thredde, kniues, filers, pinsars, hām ers, hatchets, Shirts, Coyfes, headkerchiefs, handkerchiefs, breeches, coates, clokes, cappes, Parriners breeches, all y<sup>e</sup> which Merchandise he deuided amōg his nauie. The Ship Admiral was of the burthen of a hūdzred Tunnes. Other thre Shippes of the burthen of eightie Tunnes the peece. All the residue were small withoute ouerloppe, and vergan ines. The deuise of his ensigne oz aunciente, was flames of fire in white and blewe, with a redde crosse in the middelt, and bozored round with letters, in the Lattine and Spanishe tonges, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow the Crosse, and with liuely faith with this standerde we shall obteyne victorie. The premisses (as ye haue hearde) was the furniture that Cortez prouided for his iourney, and with so small a thing he conquered so greate and mightie an Empire, & strange Countreys, vnknewen at that time. There was neuer Captayne that did with like army overcome so infinite a people, & bzing both the and their countrey vnder subiectiō. He caried no money to pay his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at his departure. And to say the truth, there needed any money to make pay to those souldiers that went to the Conquest, for if they shuld haue serued for wages, they woulde haue gone to other places nere hand. But in India, euery one pretēdeth y<sup>e</sup> state of a noble man, oz else great riches. Now all y<sup>e</sup> fleet being in readinesse (as ye haue hearde,) Cortez began an exhortation to his cōpany as followeth.

D. iiii.

The



The Oration that Cortez made  
to his Souldiers.

**M** louing fellowes and deere friendes, it is certayne that euery valiant manne of stout courage, doth procure by deedes to make him selfe equall with the excellent men of his time, yea and with those that were before his time. So it is, that I do now take in hand such an enterpryse, as godwilling shall be hereafter of great fame, for myne heart doth pronosticate vnto me; that we shall winne great and rich Countreys, and many people, as yet neuer seene to anye of oure nation, yea and (I beleue) greater Kingdomes than those of oure Kinges. And I assure you, that the desire of glozy dothe further extend, than treasure, the whiche in sozte, mortall life doth obtayne. I haue now prepared Shippes, Armoz, Horses, and other furniture for the warres, with victuall sufficient, and all things that are vsed as necessary in Conquestes. I haue bin at great costes and charges, wherein I haue not onely employed myne owne goodes, but also the goodes of my frendes, yet me thinketh that the employmente thereof dothe encrease my treasure and honoz. We ought (louing fellowes) to leaue off small things, when great matters doe offer themselves. And euen as my trust is in God, euen so greater profite shall come to our kings, and a nation of this oure enterpryse, than hath heretofore of any other. I doe not speake how acceptable it will be to God our sauiour, for whose loue I do chiefly and willingly, hazard my goods and trauel. I will not now treat of the perils and danger of life that I haue passed since I began this voyage. This I say, that god men doe rather expect renoume, than treasure. We doe now attempt and begin warre that is both god and

lust,



ius, and the almighty God in whose name and holy faith this voyage is begonne, will assuredly graunte vnto vs victory, and the time will shew the end of things well begonne. Wherefore we will now haue an other manner in our proceedings, than eyther *Cordova* or *Grijalua* hadde, whereof I meane not now to dispute, for the presente time doth hasten vs away, but at our arriual, we will do what shall seeme vnto vs conuenient. Here deere friends do I lay before you great gaynes, but wrapped in greate trauell, yet *Vertue* is an enimie to idlenesse. &c. Wherefore if you will accept hope for *Vertue*, or *Vertue* for hope, and also if ye forsake me not, as I will not forsake you, I will with Gods help make you in shorthe time the richest men that euer passed this way. I doe see you are but fewe in number, but yet such men of haughtie courage, that no force or strength of *Indians* can offende. Likewise we haue experience, that Christ our sauour hathe alwayes fauoured our nation in these parties. Therefore my deere friends, let vs now in Gods name depart ioyfull, expecting god successe, according to our beginning. &c.

### The entrance of Cortez into the

*Island of Acusamil.*



With the aforesaid communication, Cortez gaue great hope to his company of waigh- tie matters, yea and great admiration of his person, so that all his company had an earnest desire to proceede on that iorney. And Cortez likewise reioyced, to see his men so willing: and incontinente, they imbarqued themselves, and after their prayers made vnto God, hoysed vp their sayles, and with faire winde departed the eight- tenth day of Februarie Anno 1519. And being at Sea, he willed all his naue (as the vse is) to haue S. Peter for their

their patrone, warning them alwayes to follow the Admirall (wherein he went) bycause he carried a light for the night season to guide them the way, whiche was almost East and West from *S. Anthonies* point, being the nereest part of *Cuba* to *Cape de Corache*, which is the first lād point of *Yucatan*, whither they were bounde, so y being there, they might run alōg the coast, betwene the South point and the West. The first night y *Hernando Cortez* began to passe ouer the gulfe betwene *Cuba* & *Yucatan*, being little aboue lx. leagues, the winde rose vp at Northeast with much force, so y all the flete were separated without sight y one of the other: yet by the accompt that their Pilots kept, they arriued all sauing one at the Ilande of *Acusamil*, although not at one time, and those that last arriued, wer the Admirall, and Captayne *Morla* his Ship, who had lost his Ruther, but by shooting off a pece, *Cortez* understood his necessitie, and came vering to him, and amayned his sailles to succour him, being in y night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God y the rage of the tempest ceased, & being clere day, they found agayne their Ruther, and trimmed the Ship, and made sayle, and sayled that day and the next following, without sighte of land, or any of the flete. But the third day they arriued at a cape or point of land, called *Momens* cape. *Cortez* commanded *Morla* to follow him, directing his course to seeke the residue of his flete, and arriued in this sorte at the Iland of *Acusamil*, and there found all his nanie excepte one, whereof they hearde no newes in many dayes after. The people of that Ilande beholding suche a straunge sight, were in great feare and admiratiō, so that they gathered their stufte and wente by into the Mountaynes. *Cortez* caused a certayne number of his mē to goe a land to a Tolone which was nere the place where they were arriued, and they found the tolone wrought with *Palons* woꝝke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein.

The feare  
of the In-  
dians of A-  
cusamil.

therein, yet in some houses they found cloth made of cotton  
wooll, and certaine Jewels of gold. Also they entred into  
a high tower made of stoneworke, nere the sea side, and  
there they founde nothing but Idols of earth and stone.  
With this newes they returned to Cortez, and enformed  
him what they had seene, and also many faire lowe fields  
of maiz, and great store of hives of Bees, and many trees  
of fruites, and also presented unto him the gold and other  
things that they had found. Cortez reioyced with y newes,  
but yet maruelled that the people were fledde, considering  
that when Grijalua was there, they had not so done, where-  
by he iudged, that his nanie beeing greater, caused them  
to feare and flie, and likewise he feared least a snare were  
prepared for him. Then he commanded to vnskip his Boz-  
ses for thre causes: the one to discover the Countrey: and  
the other to fight if neede were: and also to graze the, ha-  
ving there abundance. Also he vnskipped his men of warre,  
and sent them to discover the land. And in the thickest of  
the Mountaynes, they found four women, and thre chil-  
dren, whome they brought to Cortez, so that not understan-  
ding their language, by signes & tokens they ymagined  
that one of the was the mother to the children, & mistresse  
to the other women. The poore creatures bewayled theyr  
captiuitie. Cortez made much of them, & apparelled the  
mistresse as wel as he might with Spanissh attyre: and to  
hir seruants he gaue looking glasses and silfers: and to the  
little children other toyes to play withall, being no disho-  
nestie towards the. And the he determined to send one of  
the wenches to call hir maister, and to enforme him how  
well they were intreated. In this meane season came  
certaine spies lurking a farre off, by the commandement of  
their Lord, who was called Calachuni, to bring newes of  
his wife, & what else passed. Cortez receiued them getly, &  
gaue vnto them certayne trifles, and sent others to their  
Lord, and returned the to embassage on his behalfe & his

Howe the  
people  
vver found



wiues, to desire hym to come vnto him, and to see those folke from whome he had fledde, promising, that neyther his person, nor none of his countrey should receyue anye molestation of him, nor of any of his company. *Calachuni* vnderstanding this friendshippe, and also with the loue hee bare to his wife and childre, came the next day following with all the Townesmen, in whose houses y<sup>e</sup> Spanyards were lodged, who woulde not permitte that their guestes should giue place. And the Lorde commaunded, that they should be wel entertayned, and fro that day forward prouided them of bread, fishe, honey, & fruite. *Calachuni* spake and saluted *Cortez* with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was he louingly receyued, & wel entertained. *Cortez* did then declare vnto him the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him & his copany many toyes, which were vnto the of small valewe, but muche esteemed among them, yea moze than golde. And mozeouer *Cortez* comaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the Towne, shoulde be broughte befoze him, and placed it so, that euery *Indian* knewe his owne, and was restozed vnto them, whereat they were not a little ioyfull, wondering at the liberalitie of the straungers, and departed both merrie and riche with their straunge giftes, and went throughout al the Iland, shewing to their fellowes their presentes, commaunding them in the name of *Calachuni* their Lord, to returne euery man to his house, with their wiues and childzen, commending highly the honest and gentle nature of the straungers. With this newes and commaundement, euery man returned to his house and Towne from whence he had fledde. And after thys sort their feare was past, and they prouided the Camp abundantly of honey, bread, ware, fishe, and frute, all the time that they abode in that Iland.

A facte  
worthy of  
praise.

The

The Indians of Acusamil gaue newes  
to Cortez of certaine bearded men.



Now Cortez seeing these Indians quiet and wel pleased, and also very seruiceable, he did determyne to take away theyr Idols, and to giue them a remembraunce of Iesu Christ borne of the Virgine Mary, by one Melchior a sithier man and very rustical, who had bin ther before with Francisco Hernandez de Cordona, who declared vnto them, that Cortez his Lord and captaine would enforme them of a better god, and better lawes, than those which they maintained. The Indians answered, that they were contented therewith, and went with them vnto their temples, and there brake downe their Idols, and celebrated diuine seruitce, teaching them to adoze and worshippie Christ crucifyed, so that they were verpe assentfue to the doctrine, and ceased sacrifice of men which they were wont to vse. These Indians did wonder much at the shippes and hozses, yea and marueyled as much at our colour and beardes, so that many times they would come and seele them, and signified vnto them by signes and tokens towarde *Tucatan*, that there were siue or sixe bearded men. Then Cortez considering how profitable it wold be to haue an interpreter to vnderstand and to be vnderstood, he besought *Calachuni* that he would appoint a messenger to carrye a letter to the bearded men, who were in the power of a great Lord and Tyzant, and *Calachuni* found none that durst take that iourney in hand, fearing that they should be slaine and eaten. Cortez seeing this, entreated with sacre words, three of the Indians that serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue the rewards for theyr labour: yet the Indians excused them, saying that

Nerues of  
bearded men.

C.ii.

they

they should be slayne, notwithstanding with faire promises and rewardes, they accepted the voyage, so that Cortez wrote with them this letter following.

**W**orthyshipful sirs, I departed from *Cuba* with cleven saile in my fléete, furnished with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, and I arrived here at *Ausimil* from whence I write you this letter. The people of this *Ind* have certified me, that there is in that countrey five or six bearded men, and in al pointes like vnto vs: they can not here enforce me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly beleue that ye be Spaniards. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discover and inhabit this land, we hartly pray you y within sixe days after the receite hereof, ye come vnto vs, wout any excuse or delay, and if ye so doe, al we of this nauie wil gratifye your gentlenesse & good seruice y ye shal do vnto vs. I do send you a *Mergantyn* wherein you may come, & two shippes for your safecconduct.

*Hernando Cortez.*

**T**his letter being written, there was found an inconvenience, which was, they knew not how to carrye the letter so secretly y it might not be sene, & they taken for espies, wherof the saide *Indians* were in great feare. The *Cortez* bethought him, y the letter wold passe wrapped in y haire of the head of one of the, for ordinarily the *Indians* wear long beare, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they vse their haire platted & bound about their foreheads. And he appointed captaine of the *Mergantine* wherein his messengers wet, *Iohn de Escalante*, & *James de Ordaz* for captaine of the other two shippes, with fiftie men if any need should happen. So shortly after the shippes arrived at the place appointed, *Escalante* set a land his messengers, and abode there eight days they returne, although he promised the to abide there but sixe dayes. And the seeing that they



they came not, he surmised & they were either flaine or taken captiues: & so returned backe againe to *Acusamil* without his messengers, wherof al the army were sorrowful, & chafely *Cortez*, thinking that the *Indians* had wronged him. For in this meane season they trimmed their shippes of the hurte receiued by the late tempest, & at the returne of the two ships and *Bergantyne*, they hoysed by sailes and departed.

A miraculous chaunce how *Gerónimo de*

*Aguilao* came to *Cortez*.



*Alachum* and all his subiectes were full of heavinesse (as it seemed) with the departure of the *Christians*, because they were well used at their handes. From *Acusamil* the fleet sayled to get the coast of *Tucatan* to the cape called *Womens point*, with prosperous weather, & there *Cortez* came to an Anker, desirous to see the disposition of the lande, and the manner of the people: but it liked him not, so that fūert day following being *Thouretuifday*, he departed, meaning to double the sayde cape, and so, to passe to *Cotoche* and, to biewe it. But before they hadde doubled the pointe, *Peter de Almarado* shotte off a piece, in token that hee was in great peril, wherehypon the other shippes drewe neare to knowe what hadde happened: And when *Cortez* understood that *Almarados* shippe was in so great a leake that with two pumpees they mighte not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe againe to *Acusamil* with al his fleet. The *Indians* of *Yflande* came incontinent to *Y* water side very sayfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind the. The *Christians* enforced the of their mishap, and came a shore, & in short tūne found the leake & amended it. The Saturday following they toke shipping againe, al the army excepte

*Hernando*

*Hernando Cortez*, and fiftie of his company, then the wind arose contrary, and so much, that they could not departe that day: & the furie of the winde endured al that night, but in the morning it wared calme, so that they myghte proceede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabbath daye, they determined to heare diuine seruise, and after dinner to make saile. When their seruise was ended, and *Cortez* sitting at his meate, there was netwes brought him that a little vessell called a *Canoa*, came vnder saile toward the shippes, whiche seemed to come from *Yucatan*: with that netwes *Cortez* arose from his meate, to behold whether the *Canoa* went, and perceiuyng that she left the way toward the shippes, he sente *Andrés de Tapia* with certaine others, as secreete & close-ly as might be deuised, to lye in ambushe for their coming a shoare. The *Canoa* arriued in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their priuie members, and the heare of their heades platted and bound aboute their foreheades like vnto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: three of them which were *Indians*, wer afrasde when they saw the Spaniards with their drawen swordes, and would haue fled againe to their *Canoa*, but the Christian feared not, and desired his fellows in the *Indian* tong to abide with hym. And then he began to speake in the Spanissh tongne in thys wise: Masters are ye Christians, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanissh nation. Then he reioyced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demaunded of them what day it was, although he had a Primer wherein he dayly prayed.

He then besought them earnestlye to assist him with their prayers & thanksgiuing vnto god for his deliuery, & kneeling deuoutly downe vppon his knees, holding vp his handes, his eyes toward heauen, and his face bathed

with teares, made his humble prayer vnto God, giuing most hartie thanks, that it hadde pleased hym to deliuer him out of the power of Infidels and infernal creatures. and to place hym among Christians and men of his owne nation. *Andrés de Tapia* holpe hym vpp, and toke hym in hys armes, and so did al y others embrace & loningly salute him. Then he commaunded the other thre Indians to follow him, and went talking wpyh hys friends, where *Cortez* aboade, who recepued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto hym such apparel as he needed, and wpyh great pleasure hauing him in his companye, hee demanded the estate of his misfortune, and what was hys name, who answered befoze them al, saying, Sir my name is *Geronimo de Aguilar*, I was bozne in the Citty of *Esja* in the *Andoloxia*, and by misfortune I was losse after this sorte. In the warres of *Darien* and in the time of the contentions and passions of *James de Nicuesa*, and *Vasco Nunez Balboa*, I came with Captaine *Valdina* in a little Caruell, toward *Santo Domingo*, to giue aduice to the Admirall and gouernour, of the troubles which had happned, and my comning was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twentye thousand Duckettes of the kings in Anno. 1511. And whē we appoyted at *Iamayca*, our Caruell was lost on the shallowes whiche were called the *Uipars*, and with greate pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, wthout sayle, water or bread, and weake prouision of oares: we thus wander thirtēne or fourtēne dayes, and then the currant, whiche is there very great & runneth alway weastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called *Majsa*, & traveling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died wpyh hunger & samin. And captain *Valdina* & other 4. were sacrificed to the ydols by a cruel and cursed *Cacike*, that is to say, a Lord in whose power we fell. &c.

The cōming  
of Aguilar  
to Cortez.

¶

And

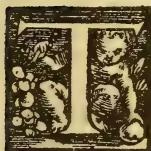


And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the *Indians* for a solemne banquet: and I, and other five wer put into a Cage or coupe, to be satned for an other sacrifice. And for to escape suche abhominable death, we brake the prison and fledde through certaine mountaines: So that it pleased God that wee mette with another *Cazike* who was enemy to him that first toke vs, his name was *Quinquus*, a man of moze reason and better condition, hee was Lord of *Xamansana*: he accepted vs for his captines, but shortly after he dyed, and then I aboad with *Taxmar* his heire. Then deceased other five of our fellowes, so that there remayned but onely I and one *Gonsalo Guerrer*, a maryner, who now abybeth with *Nachancan* the Lorde of *Chetemal*, and he married with a rich gentlewoman of that countrey, by whom he hath childzen, and is made a Captaine, and wel esteemed with the *Cazike* for the victories y he hath had in the wars against the other Lords. I sent vnto him your worships letter, desiring him that he would come with me hauing so fit a passage, but he refused my request, I belue for verie shame, bycause hee had his nose ful boared of holes, & his eares tagged, his face & handes painted according to the vse of y countrey, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and childzen. All those whiche stode by & hard this *Hystorie*, were amased, to heare *Geronimo de Aguilar* report howe those *Indians* did sacrifice & eate mans fleshy. They also lamented the miserie & death of his fellowes, and highly praysed God, to see him free fro his bondage & from such cruell & barbarous people, & to haue likewise so good an enterpreter with the, for vndoubtedly it semed a miracle y *Aluarcados* ship fel into a leak, for with y extremity they returned back again to that Iland, wheras with contrarie winde they were constrained to abide y coming of *Aguilar*. And certainly he was y mean & speech of al their proceedings.

proceedings. And therfore haue I bin so ppolirious in y  
rehearsal of this matter, as a notable point of this histo-  
rie. Also I wil not let to tell how the mother of *Geronimo*  
*de Aguilar*, became mad. &c.

When she hard y hir son was captiue among people y  
blessed to eate mās flesh, & euer after whē she saw any fleshy  
spitted or roasted, she would make an open outcrie, say-  
ing, oh I miserable woman, behold this is the fleshy of my  
dearebeloued sonne who was all my comfort.

### The Iland of Acusamil.



The Indians naturall of that countrey do  
call their Ilande *Acusamil*, & corruptlye  
*Cosumel*, *Iohn de Gryalua* was y first Spa-  
niard that appoynted there, and named it  
the holy Ilande, bycause hee fell in sighte  
therof on holy roade daye. It cōtayneth

ten leagues in length & thre leagues in breadth, although  
some say moze, some lesse: it standeth twentye degrés on  
this side the equator, and fiue leagues from the womē's  
cape: it hath thre villages, in y which lieth nere; thou-  
sand mē. The houses are of stone and bzick, and couered  
with straw & bowes, & some with tile. Their temples and  
towers are made of lime & stone very wel built: thei haue  
no other fresh water but out of welles and raine water.  
*Calachuni* is their chiefe Lord: they are browne people &  
goe naked: & if any weare cloth, it is made of cotten wool  
only to couer their priuie mēbers: they vse lōg hear plat-  
ted & bound about their foreheads: they are great fisher-  
mē, so y fish is their chiefest fode & sustenance, they haue  
also *Maiz* which is for bread: also good frutes: & hony, but  
somewhat soure: and plots for bees, which contayn. 1000  
hives. They knew not to what vse war serued, but whē  
they saw our mē make cādels therof, they wōdzed therat.

F. y.

Their

Their dogges haue Foure faces and barke not, these they gelde and fatten to eate. This Iland is ful of high moistaines, & at the feete of them, good pastures, many Deare, and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not great. The Spaniards with their handguns and crossebowes prouide them of that victual, fresh salt and dyed. The people of this Iland are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice children, but not manye. And many times in stead of children they sacrifice dogges. They are poore people, but very charitable and louing in their false religion and beliefe.

The religion of the people of  
*Acusamil.*



A strange  
Idol.

The temple is like vnto a square Toure broad at the fote, & steps round about it, & from y<sup>e</sup> middest vpward very straight: the top is hollow & couered with straw: it hath foure windowes with frontals and galleries. In y<sup>e</sup> holow place is the chappel, wheras their Idols do stand. The temple that stode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a marvellous strange Idol, and differed muche from all the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashions. The body of this Idol was great and hollow, and was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth. And behinde this Idols backe was the Vesterie, where was kept ornaments & other things of seruice for y<sup>e</sup> temple. The priests had a little secret doore hard adioyning to y<sup>e</sup> Idol, by which doore they crept into y<sup>e</sup> hollow Idol, and answered the people y<sup>e</sup> came with prayers & petitions. And w<sup>h</sup> this doore y<sup>e</sup> simple soules beleued al y<sup>e</sup> the Idol spake, & honoied y<sup>e</sup> god more th<sup>a</sup>n al the rest w<sup>h</sup> many perfumes & sweets



swete smells, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quayles blond, and other birds, and dogges, and sometime mans blond. And through the same of this Idoll and Idacle, many Pilgrimes came to *Acusamil* from many places. At the foote of this Temple was a plotte like a Churchyard, well walled and garnished with proper pinacles, in the midst whereof stood a Crosse of ten foote long, the which they adored for God of the rayne, for at all times whē they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Procession deuoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quayles sacrificed, for to appeale the wrath that the God seemed to haue agaynst them: and none was so acceptable a sacrifice, as the blond of that little birde. They vsed to burne certaine swete gūme, to perfume that God withall, and to besprinkle it with water, and this done, they beleued assuredly to haue rayne. Suche is the Religion of those Indians of *Acusamil*. They could neuer knowe the original how that God of Crosse came amongst them, for in all those parties of *India*, there is no memoire of any Preaching of the Gospell that had bin at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The God  
of rayne.

## The Battell and vvinning of

*Potanchan.*



Ortez proceeded with his flēte very ioyfull, because he had found one of his Ships which he thought had bin lost, & apoynted at the river *de Guayana*, whiche in the Indian tongue is called *Tauasco*, and ankred at the rivers mouth, fearing to enter in with the bigger vessels ouer the barre: and incontiente came manye Indians to gaze at them and theyr Shippes, who were armed with feathers, and suche lyke armour as they vse, seiming a sarre off trimme fellows.

*F. iiij.*

They

They wondered not muche to see oure Shyppes and menne, because they hadde seene befoze *John de Grijalua* in the same Riuer. The behauiour of that people, and situation of the Countrey, liked *Cortez* verpe well, so that leauyng sufficiente garde in hys Shyppes, he manned hys *Mergantynes* and Boates, and carried with hym certayne pieces of Ordnance, and with force of oares he entred the Riuer agaynst the streame, whiche was verpe greate, and hauyng rowen little moze than halfe a league, they espyed a greate Towne walled wyth Timber, and the houses made of mudiwall, covered with strawe. The Towne wall was verpe strong, with lope holes to offende withall. And befoze oure menne came nere the Towne, they mette with manye little Boates, whiche the *Indians* call *Tahucup*, full of armed menne, shewyng themselves desirous of battayle. *Cortez* proceeded forwarde, and made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by his interpreter, that hys comyng thither was not to molest or disquiet them, but onely to take frethe water, and to buy victuals, as menne that trauelled by Sea, and stode in nede thereof, promysing good paymente for anye thing that they shoulde take. The *Indians* hearyng theyr request, promised to shewe theyr message to the Townesmen, and woulde also retorne with theyr aunswere and vittayles, and so departed. In shorte space they returned againe, and broughte bread and fruite, and eyght Turkie Cockes, and presented it franchely vnto them. *Cortez* gaue them thankes, but (quoth he) the prouision that ye haue brought, is very little, for the nede that I and so manye persons which I haue within yonder greate besels locked and shutte by, therefore I pray you to byng me moze vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer mee and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to seeke our remedie.

Pollicie,

remedie.

The *Indians* demaunded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed towarde the towne. *Cortez* also went to a little Ilande that standeth in the riuer, to abide their annswere, so that eache pretended to deceyue the other, for the *Indians* demaunded that time, to the intent to carrie that night away theyr godes, and to put in safetie their wines and childzen in the Spoun-  
taynes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to de-  
fende theyr Towne. *Cortez* also commaunded his Har-  
gabushiers and Crossebowmen to goe a lande vppon the  
Ilande, and caused the Riuer vppwardes to bee soughte  
for way, to wade ouer, so that these thyngs were done  
that nyghte without anye knowledge to the contrarie  
syde. And all those whiche abode aborde the Shyppes,  
came vnto *Cortez*, and those who wente to seeke the pas-  
sage, founde within lesse than halfe a league vppwardes,  
a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And  
likewise founde suche couerte of wooddes, that they  
myghte come nere vnto the Towne, and not to bee  
sene.

Disgience  
of a good  
Captayne.

Thys newes lyked well *Cortez*, wheredvppon he ap-  
pointed two Captaynes, whose names were *Alonso de*  
*Auila*, and *Peter de Aluarado*, and to eache of them fis-  
tie menne. The same nyghte he sente certayne Soul-  
dyers wyth a sea compasse, to lye in ambushe in the  
wodde whych stode betwene the riuer and the towne,  
for two considerations. The one, because the *Indians*  
shoulde see, that there were no moe Spanyardes in  
the Ilande, than were the daye before. And the other  
was, that his menne hearing their watchword, shoulde  
assaulte the towne on the land side. And as sone as the  
day appeared, came eight boates of *Indians* armed, wher-  
as oure Campe was pitched, who broughte a little  
F.iiiij. viquall.



viduall, saying they could get no more, bycause that the inhabitantes of the Towne were fledde, with feare of them, and their deformed vessels, desiring them to returne aboarde their Shippes, and not to disquiet the people of that Countrey. The interpreter answered, that it was against humanitie to suffer them to perishe wyth hunger, yea and if they woulde heare the cause of theyr comming, they should shortly see what profite would rebound vnto them. The *Indians* replied, that they woulde take no counsell of straungers and menne whome they knewe not. Likewyse, they thoughte not good to lodge suche guestes in their houses, for they seemed terrible, and such as would be commaunders. But if they woulde needes haue water, they mighte take riuer water, or else make welles on the shore, for so dyd they at theyr neede.

Then *Cortez* seeing that wordes preuayled not, hee signified vnto them that he woulde enter their Towne by force, to see it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greatest Prince in the worlde, who hadde sent them thither: requesting them to be therewith contented, considering he meante not to disquiet them: and if they would not permitte the same, he would commend himselfe to his God, and to the strength and force of hys men. The *Indians* answered agayne, that they shoulde depart, and not thus byagge in other mens land, for in no wise they woulde permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not departe, they meante to kyl both him and as many as were with him. Yet *Cortez* ceased not to vse all humanitie with those barbarous people, according to the commaundementes and instructions giuen vnto him by the King of *Castill*, whiche was, to require those people oftentimes with peace, before the attempting of warre, or entering perforce into their Townes and Countrey, so that yet a  
gayne

gaine he conuited them with peace, promising them libertie with good entertainment, assuring them of things profitable both for body and soule, and that they myght accompt themselves happie with the knowledge thereof: but if now they would refuse his offer, he did then warne them to make them ready for the euening, for befoze the going downe of the Sunne, he did hope with the help of his God, to rest and take vp his lodging in the Towne, in despite of all the inhabitants thereof, who had refused his offer.

The *Indians* laughed at his talke, and looking at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellowes of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde hearde. When the Spanyarden wente to dinner, and hauing well refreshed themselves, they putte on their Armour, and went aboarde their Boates and Mergantines, looking for some aunswere from the *Indians*, and seeing the Sunne decline apace, and no aunswere, Cortez aduised the Spanyarden that lay in ambushe in the woodde, to giue assault, and he imbarqued himselfe with his rapier and Targette, gyuing likewise assaulte with nere two hundred men, who comming nere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordnance, and lepte into the water to the knees, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The *Indians* seeing their enimies so nigh vnto them, beganne to fight with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of dartes and stones, wherewith they hurte about twenty Spanyarden: yea, and though the fearefull nople of the Ordnance did many times so annoy them, being things so straunge, and neuer befoze scene of them, yet they fledde not from the walles, but resisted the Christians valiantly, and suffered them not to enter the Towne that way, if they had not bin assaulted in another place. But when the Company that lay in ambush

G.

heard

hearde the shooting of their fellows, they began likewise theyr onsette. The *Indians* knowyng nothyng what was prepared behynde theyr backs, and hauing also theyr bandes full in defending the entrance by the Riuer: and the *Christians* fyndyng that parte of the Towne without resistance, entred in wyth a terrible noyse, killing as many as they mette. Then the *Townesmen* vnderstode theyr ouersyghte, and woulde haue remedyed it, and fledde from the place where *Cortez* was gyuing combat, whereby *Cortez* and hys Company entred the Towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hee and the other Companys of his Souldyers mette togither at the Markette place, and expulsed all the *Indians* out of the Towne, excepte those that were taken prisoners, and the carcases of the deade. Then the *Christians* soughte the spoyle, and founde nothyng but *Turkie Hennes*, and some thyngs wrought of Cotten wolle, but very little Golde.

There was that daye aboue foure thousande *Indians* in fyghte and defence of the Towne: There was much *Indian* blood shedde, bycause they fought naked, many were wounded, and seue Captiue. *Cortez* lodged himselfe wyth hys armie in the chiefest Temple of the *Idolles*, where was roome sufficiente. They kepte that nyghte good watche, as in a house of enimies, but the worse *Indians* durst not once interrupte them. After this sorte was *Potonchan* taken, beeyng the laste Cytie that *Cortez* wanne by force in all hys Conquest.

The



## The Battell of Cintla.



**A**nd y<sup>e</sup> nighte Cortez slept not, but rather occupied himselfe in carrying the wounded men, & other stuffe aboard y<sup>e</sup> Shyps, & also to disenbarke thirtene Horses, & the residue of his mē y<sup>e</sup> he had left aboard, y<sup>e</sup> which he brought to passe before the sunne rising, although the *Tamasans* had notice thereof. Whē the sunne was risen, he had with his company made vnto God their prayers, and mustered his men, where were at that time in Campe nēre fīue hundred Spanyarden, thirtene Horses, and sixe pēces of ordinance: These Horses were the fyrste that euer came into that Countrey, whych now is called new spayne. He planted his men and munition in good order, and thus marched forwarde toward Cintla. The *Indians* seeing this preparation, began also to make readie, and to place in good order fortie thousand men in fīue companies: their meeting was in ploughed lande among many deepe lakes and pōdes, very dangerous to passe, so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of order. And *Hernando Cortez* with his horsemen wente to seeke a better passage, and to enclose himselfe among certayne trees on their left hand, for to set vpon the enemies when time should serue. The footemen proceeded on, and passed many marish groundes, vntill they came to the filled land. The *Indians* were expert in those places where they beganne the battayle, shooting with their bowes and stings, and throwing of dartes. And although our mē did some hurt among them with their Crossebowes, hand gunnes, and Ordinance, whē they were in place to shote, yet the *Indians* pursued our men so thicke, that they could not put them off, for by policie, the *Indians* of *Potomchan* hadde soughte out that place: and it is to bee thoughte

Care of a  
good Cap-  
taine.

Fortye  
thouande  
Indians.

Perill of  
the Chri-  
stians.

A miracle.

that they were not barbarous, nor of small understan-  
ding in warres, yet notwithstanding wyth much  
payne, oure men gate out of that place, and obtayned a  
nother somewhat better, and moze playner grounde,  
whereas they myghte vse their Ordinance, and fyghte  
wyth their weapons bodye to bodye. But the *Indians* bee-  
yng so greate a number, draue our men to so narrowe a  
place, that they were sayne to ioyne backe to backe  
for theyr owne defence, yea & for all that were in marue-  
lous greate daunger, for they hadde no roome to vse their  
Ordinance, nor yet Hozsemen to make them waye.  
They beeyng in thys perplexitie, and readie to dye, sud-  
danelly appeared a Hozseman with a speckled Hozse,  
whome they iudged to be Captayne *Morla*, whych Hozse-  
manne sette bypon the *Indians*, and made them retyze:  
and haupng moze space than before, they sette afresh  
bypon the enimies, and slewe some of them. In thys  
meane tyme the Hozsemanne vaded away, and was  
not sene, and wyth hys absence the *Indians* begonne a-  
freshe, and enclosed the Chrystians in the same daun-  
ger that they were in before: then the Hozsemanne ap-  
peared agayne nere oure menne, and made maruellous  
may among the enimies, wherebypon our menne seeyng  
this succour, gaue the onfet agayne with great courage,  
and slewe and hurt many *Indians*, but at the best season,  
the Hozseman vanished away cleane out of sighte, and  
when the *Indians* saue not the Hozseman, with feare  
of whome they fledde, thinking that he hadde bin a Cen-  
taure, and that the Hozse and man was all one incorpo-  
rate, they returned agayne with lively coorage, and be-  
sed our Chrystians worse than they hadde done before.  
Then the Hozseman returned the third time, and putte  
the *Indians* to flight with great hurte, whom our soterne  
pursued with great slaughter.

*Poole*

Now at this instant came Cortez with al his company of horsemen, being wearied with the trauaile in passing such strange lakes and wildernesse, wherof the countrey is replenished. Our men being ioyful of his coming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had sene a horseman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their company it was. Cortez answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their company, because it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they al gaue God praise, believing that it was a helpe sent from heauen. Cortez said (my deare fellows) forwarde, for god is with vs. When the horsemen set vpon the Indians, and with force of lance droue them out of the marishy ground, and brake their mayne battel. The Indians incontinent left the fielde, and fled into the thicke wooddes, the footemen followed them, and slue a booke three hundred Indians, besides many other that were hurt. There wer aboute seauenty Spaniards wounded with arrowes and stones.

And whether it were with labour of the battel, or with excessive heate, or with drinking the water of that place, there fel such a stich in their loynes, that about a hundred of them fel flat vpon the ground, not able to go nor stand. their fellows being forced to carry the on their backs. But it pleased god that the same night the payne wente fro them, being in the morning wel againe. Who seeing themselves deliuered from so manye perils, gaue most humble thanks to the almighty god that had miraculously deliuered them. They all agreed that three times they had sene the strange horseman, with the speckled horse, fight in their saour, as is aforesaid, believing generally it was a miracle, as certainly it did appeare, for the Christians did not alone see this thing, but also the Indians dyd muche note it, for the marvelous fiercenesse

A sodaine  
disease.

C. ij.

wherewith



wherewith he came vppon them, with such great murder, that they were amased, and almoste blynde with hys bygghnesse, being so trodden vnder hys fete. The captiue Indians after the battayle declared the circumstance therof.

### The Lord Tauasco submittech

*himselfe to the Christians.*



Cortex released some of hys prisoners and sent them to their Lorde, saying that it grieved him the hurt done on both parties, but the fault was theirs. And that god was witnessse of hys innocence and also of hys curtesie offered vnto the. But notwithstanding all that was passe, he pardoned

their errour with suche condition, That if in convenient or within two dayes, theyr Lorde woulde come vnto him, to yelde satisfaction of their malice and stubbornesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, warning and aduising them, that if they came not wpythin the time appointed, hee woulde enter into his countrey, burning and spoyling with slaughter both great & smal, armed and vnarmed: with which message the messengers departed, and Cortex returned to the towne to cure his wounded men. The next day came fiftie auncient Indians to craue pardon for their offence, and also licence to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that their rulers and principal persons, myght safely come vnto

The Cacike enbals-  
fadours.

Unto the towne. Cortez granted their request, warning them to make any lyes or yet to conspire againe: and also if their lordes came not personally, he would not heare any more embassadozs: with this rigorous commaundemēt & protestation they departed. These *Indians* feeling their strength would not preuaile, thinking the christians to be invincible, their Lords and chiefest persons did determine to goe and visite the christians and their captaine. And according to the time appointed, the Lord of that towne and other foure Lords his neyghbours came unto Cortez with a good trayne of their bellalls and seruitours, and presented vnto him, bread, turkie hennes, & frustes, with other like prouision for his host, with four hundred pieces of gold of  $\frac{1}{2}$  value of 400. double duckets, w<sup>th</sup> other smalliewels, and certaine turkie stones of small value. And twentie women slaues, to serue to make breade and bresse meate for  $\frac{1}{2}$  whole army. He craued and beseeched Cortez to pardon his former offence. And to accept and receiue them into hys friendshippe. And in token of his obedience, hee and his fellowes oyd willinglye deliuer their bodies, landes and goods into his handes and power. Cortez did louingly receiue them, and gaue vnto them certaine trifles of his wares, whiche they esteemed much. And those *Indians* hearing the hozes and mares ney, they maruelled at their neying, thinking that the hozes could speake, & demaunded of the Christians what they sayd, (marv quoth they) these hozes are soze offended with you bycause ye fought with them, & wold haue you corrected and chastened for your so doing. The simple *Indians* hearing this, presented roses and Gynea Hens vnto the hozes, desiring them to eate and to pardon the,

Certaine questions that Cortez demanded of the Cacike Tausco.



Any things passed betweene our men & the Indians: for where the Indians vnderstood the not, their behauiour was much to laugh at. And vsing conuersation with our men, & seeing they receiued no hurte of them, they brought to the towne their wiues and children, which were no smal number. And among many matters that Cortez communed with Tausco by the mouth of Ieronimo de Aguila his enterpreter:

The first question was: Whether there wer mynes of gold or silver in that countrey, and from where they had that small quantitie that they hadde broughte vnto them?

The secod question was: Why they denyed him their friendshippe, more than the other captaine that had bin there the yeare befoze?

The third was: Why they being so many in nuber, fled from them being so fewe?

The fourth was: To giue the to vnderstand the mightie power of the king of Castill. And last of all to giue them knowledge of the faith of Iesu Christ.

The answer of  
the Cacike.

As touching Sir (quoth he) the Pyres of gold and silver in our country, we seeke for none, for we seeke not after treasure and riches, but we procure and desire a quiet life. And that golde whiche we haue, was founde by chaunce: for we know not what pyres do mean. Yet notwithstanding further within the lande, whereas the sunne doth hide himselfe, ther the people do finde muche gold and are giuen to seeke the same.

And



And as touching the captaine that was here of late, we ſeeing the men and ſhippes to be ſuch as we had neuer before ſeene, ſpake vnto them and demaunded what they would haue, they ſayde that their coming was, to chaunge their merchandice for gold and nothing elſe, wherefore we graunted to their requeſt. But now ſeing greater veſſels and moe in number, wee feared leaſt ye came to take our ſubſtance. And I knowing my ſelfe nothing inferiour to any of my neyghbours, would not permit any iniurie to be offered me, and that he and his ſubiectes did eſteeme themſelues the moſt valiant of men of warre in all theſe parties, and that none durſt take away their goods, women, and children, to be ſacrificed by force, wherevpon he thought to withſtande thoſe ſeuſe Chriſtians, but (quoth he) I founde my ſelfe deceiued, ſeeyng we could not kill any of your companie. And likewise the brightneſſe of youre weapons dyd blynde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

But the noyſe and lightning of your ordinance dyd more amaze vs, than either thunder-clappes or tempeſt: and alſo the great ſpoyle that you made among vs therewith: likewise your ſtraunge horſes made vs greatly to wonder, to behold their open mouthes, wee feared to be ſwallowed. And then to conſider their ſwiftnesse in running, we knew no creature could eſcape them. But y<sup>e</sup> firſt horſe that fought with vs, put vs in marueylous feare, being but one, but when we eſpyed many, then all our helpe was paſt, for we believed that the horſe and man was al one incorporate.

## How the Indians of Potonchan brake

downe their Idols, and worshipped Christ crucified.



With the relation of *Tanasco Cortez* sawe that the countrey was not for Spaniards, nor yet he toke it a thing conueniente to settle themselves where no golde nor siluer was, or other riches. And so pretended to passe forwarde to discover westward the lande endowed with golde. But befoze his departure, he declared to those new conquered *Indians*, that the Lord in whose name he and hys company had taken that iourney was king of Spayne and Emperour of Christians, and the greatest Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many kings and Princes dyd homage and obey. And that hys rule and gouernemente in iustice proceeded from God, bearing iust, holy, peaceable, and sweete, and also the *Monarchie* of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for these causes he required them to yelde themselves as his subiectes. And if they would doe so, there shoulde ensue vnto them great profite, lawes and pollicie. And as touching their religion, he declared their blindnesse & great abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and in making sacrifice vnto them with mans bloud, yea & thinking that those images and Idols, did or coulde doe good or euill vnto them, being idube, without life or soule, yea and y worke of their owne hands. He certified them of one god maker of heauen and earth, and all creatures whom the Christians did worshyppe and serue, and that

all

all creatures ought to doe the same. In conclusion with  
 thys doctryne they brake downe their Idols, and recey-  
 ued the crosse, Cortez hauing first declared vnto them the  
 great miseries that the son of God suffered on y<sup>e</sup> Crosse  
 for mankynde. And in the greatest temple of *Potonchan*,  
 set vp a Crosse in remembrance of the death of Christ and  
 celebrated the feast vpon their knees, and the multitude  
 of *Indians* likewise, and departed to their meate. Cortez  
 desired them within two dayes to come agayne to  
 theyr diuine seruice. And that day was Palme sunday.  
 And so they did and brought an infinite number of men  
 women and children of other villages with them whych  
 was straunge to behold. And there generally gaue theyr  
 bassallship to the king of Spaine into the handes of *Her-  
 nando Cortez*, with protestation of perpetuall friendship  
 with the Spanish nation. So that these were the fyrste  
 bassalls that the Emperour had in the new Spayne. And  
 this feast and ceremony ended, our men toke shipping  
 with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doyng  
*Cortez* deserued no lesse prayse than in his victorie, for he  
 vsed wisdom with manhode in all his doings: he lefte  
 those *Indians* with a newe faith, and the towne free and  
 without hurt, he toke none for slaues, nor yet any spoyle  
 nor exchanged his merchaundice for any thing although  
 he abode there twentye dayes. The towne is called in  
 the *Indian* tongue *Potonchan*, that is to saye, a place  
 that sticketh, and our menne named it, the victo-  
 rie.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called *Tauasco*, and  
 therefore the firste Spaniards that came thither, na-  
 med the riuer *Tauasco*, but *Grijalua* called it after hys  
 owne name, whose name and remembrance will not so  
 soon be forgotten. And truly all those that do discover  
 new



newe countreys, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This towne doth containe neare five and twenty thousand houses (as some say) but as euery house standeth by himselfe like an Island, it seemeth much bigger than it is in deede. The houses are great, made of lime stone, & brick: others there are made of wood wal, and rafters & couered with straw or bozdes. Their dwelling is in the upper part of the house, for the greate moystnesse of the riuers and lakes, and for feare of fier, they haue their houses separated the one from the other. Without, the towne they haue more fairer houses than wythin for their recreation and pleasure. They are browne people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, spyns, darts, and lances. The armour wherwith they defend themselues, are Targets and shulles made of woodde or barke of trees, and some of gold very thynne. They haue also a certayne kinde of harnets made of cotten wolle wrapped aboute their stomacke.

The armor  
of the Indians.  
MS. 1

### The good entertainment that

Cortez had in Saint Iohn de  
Vlhua.



Aptaine Cortez and his company beeing embarked, sayled weast wards as nye the shoar as they might. And this coast hauing no harbours, they founde no place where they might Anker safely with their greater vessels, vntill they arriued vpon Sandie thursday at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, whiche seemed a good harbor for them. The Indians of this place call this harbour *Chalchicoeca*, there the flecto came to Anker. They were not so soone at Roade, but incontinent came two little

little boates named *Nacalles*, enquiring for the Generall of the *Fleete*, who when they came to hys presence, dyd humble reuerence vnto him, and sayde vnto hym that *Tendillo* the *Gouernoure* of that *Prrouince* sente to knowe what people they were, and what they woulde haue, and whether they meante to stay there or proceade farther. *Aguillar* dyd not well vnderstande that language. *Cortez* caused them to come aborde hys *Shyppe*, gyuyng them thanks for theyr paynes and visitation. He made vnto them a banket of *Wyne* and *Conserua*, and sayde vnto them, that the nexte day following hee woulde come alande, and talke with the *Gouernoure*, whome hee besoughte not to alter him nor hys people wth hys commyng a shore, for he meant not to molest hym, but rather to pleasure and profite hym. So that these messengers were rewarded wth certayne gyftes, they eate and dranke, but yet suspected euill, although they lyked the *Wyne* well, wherefore they desired to haue thereof, and also of the *Conserua*, so presente vnto theyr *Lorde*, whyche was giuen them, and so departed.

The nexte daye beying good Friday, *Cortez* came alande wth hys Boates full of menne, and broughte hys Horses and artillerie a shore by little and little, wth all hys menne of warre, and two hundred *Indians* of *Cuba*, whyche serued to toyle and labour. Hee planted hymselfe in the best scituation that hee coulde fynde among the Sandy bankes on the Sea syde, and there pytched hys Campe, and hauyng nere that place manye trees, they bulke them *Cotages* wth boughes.

From a little *Village* that was at hand, came many *Indians* to gaze at things so straunge, and the like neuer seene vnto them, and brought wth the gold to barter for

suche toys, as the two little Boates had broughte from them before. They brought also bread and meate readie dressed after their vse likewise to sell. Dure men chaunged wylh them beadesstones of glasse, looking glasses, sissors, knives, pinnes, and suche other wares, whereof the *Indians* were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The ioy and pleasure that these simple soules toke with these trifles, was so greate, that the next day they came agayne wylh other *Indians* ladē wylh Jewels of gold, Turkie Hernes, bread, meate, and fruite, that sufficed for all the Campe, and for the same they receyued needles, and beadesstones of glasse, but the poore soules thought themselves therewylh so riche, that they knewe not where they were wylh ioy and pleasure, yea and they thoughte that they hadde deceyued the *Estraungers*. Powe *Cortez* seeing the greate quantitie of golde broughte and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no balewe, proclaymed throughtout all hys host, that no *Chzistian* shoulde take any golde ppyon greate penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde serued, and that they passed not for it, bycause they shoulde not thynke that the desire thereof had broughte them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meante thereby, and whether the *Indians* hadde brought that golde, to proue whether they commynge was for that or no. On Easter day in the morning, came *Tenidilli* the *Gouernour* to the Campe, from *Catofla* hys dwelling place, wherhe was eyght leagues from thence. He brought attending vpon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well clothed, some of them wylh garments of Cotton, riche after their manner. And others naked, laden wylh victuals in great abundance, whiche was

V Vise-  
dome.

The count-  
ing of the  
Gouernor.



was straunge to see. *Tendilli* according to their vsance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankinsence, and little strawes touched in bloud of his owne bodye, A straunge salutation. he presented vnto him the victuals, and certayne Jewels of golde very rithe and well wrought, and other things made of feathers very curious straunge and artificiaill. *Cortez* embraced him in his armes, and receyued hym ioyfully, saluting all hys company. He gaue to *Tendilli* a coate of sike, a byoche, and a collar of glasse, with many other peces of Haberdashe wares, whiche was highly esteemed of him.

## The talke of Cortez vvith

*Tendilli.*

And the former talke was had without an Interpreter, bycause *Ieronimo de Aguillar* vnderstode not thys language, bycause it differed muche from the speche of the other *Indians*, where as hee hadde bin captiue: for whyche cause *Cortez* was somewhat carefull,

bicause he would largely haue discoursed with *Tendilli*. It chanced that among those twentie women giuen hym in *Potonchan*, one of them stode talking with a seruante of *Tendilli*, bycause she vnderstode them as menne of hir owne language. *Cortez* espying this, called hir aside, and promised hir moze than libertie, so that she woulde bee a trustie and faithfull interpreter betwixte hym and those *Indians*, and that hee woulde esteeme hir as his Secretarye. And further demanded of hir of what lignage she was, then she answered, that she was naturall of the Countrey that bordered vpo *Xalisco*, and of a towne called

H. iij.

called

called *Xilut*, daughter vnto riche parentes, and of the kinrede of the Lorde of that lande. And beeing a little girle, certayne Merchantes yd steale hir away in tyme of wa. re, and brought hir to be solde at the fayre of *Xicalanc*, whych is a greate Towne nere *Coasagualco*, not farre distant from *Tauasco*: and after this sorte she came to the power of the Lord of *Potonchan*. This woman was Christened *Marina*. She and hir fellowes were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe *Spayne*, and she onely with *Aguilar*, were Interpreters betwixt the *Indians* and our men.

Nowe Cortez beeing assured of hys true Interpreters, hee celebrated hys accustomed deuine seruice, and *Tendilli* with hym, and after they hadde dined in Cortez hys Tente in presence of many *Spanyarden* and *Indians*, Cortez enformed *Tendilli* howe that hee was bassall to the Lord Charles of *Austria* Emperour of the Christians, and kyng of *spayne*, and Lorde ouer a greate parte of the worlde, whome great Kings and Princes dyd serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to bee hys friendes for his Vertue and myghte. And hee hauing aduertisemente of that Countrey and Lorde thereof, had sente him thither to visite hym on hys behalfe, and to enforme hym of certayne secreete matters, the effecte whereof he hadde in wytyng. Sir (quoth *Tendilli*.) I am very glad to heare the Maiestie and Vertue of the Emperoure your maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Lorde the Emperoure *Melzuma* is as greate and as god a Prince as he: And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde bee anye so greate a Prince in the whole worlde, but yet according to your request, I wyll certifie hym, and knowe hys pleasure, for I trust (quoth he) in the clemencie of my Prince, that your newes and message shall bee acceptable vnto him,

and

The aun-  
syvere of  
*Tendilli*.

and you well recompensed for your paynes. Cortez then commaunded al his men to set themselves in order of battayle with life and ordumme, and to skirmishe before *Tendilli*. And that the hozlemen shoulde runne, and the ordinaunce shotte of, to the entent that *Mutezuma* shoulde be aduertised thereof. The *Indians* did much beholde the gesture, apparell and beardes of our men, they wondered to see the hozles runne, they feared the brightnesse of the twozdes, and at the noyse of the ordinaunce they fell flatte to the ground, thinking that the heauens did fall. And the shippes, they held opinion was the God of the ayre called *Quezalcoatl*, whiche came with the temples on his backe, for they dayly looked for him. *Tendilli* dispatched the poste to *Mexico*, to *Mutezuma*, aduising him of all that he had seene, and demaunded golde of him for to giue vnto the Captayne of that newe people. Bicause Cortez had inquired of him, whether *Mutezuma* had gold or no, he answered (yes) many quoth Cortez, I and my fellows haue a certayne disease of the harte, and golde helpeth vs. This message wente from the campe to *Mexico* in one day and a night, whiche is 210. myle, and the poste caried paynted the hozles and hozlemen vpon them, the maner of theyr armour, and howe many peces of ordinaunce they had, & what number of bearded men there were: and as for the shippes he had giue aduise as sone as they arrived, shewing the greatnesse and quantitie of them. All these things aforesayde, *Tendilli* caused to be paynted in cloth of Cotton very liuely, that *Mutezuma* mought see it. The cause that this message wente so farre in so shorte a space, was, they had certayne places that postes attended, as we may say hozlepostes which gaue alwayes from hand to hande the paynted cloth: they doe runne on fote faster in this sorte, than by hozlepost, and is more of antiquitie than hozlepost. After *Tendilli* sent to *Mutezuma* the garments & many other

The disease  
of the Spaniards.





hane bene given to *Gryalna*, if he had not so sone departed as the *Indians* repozted. He also gaue vnto *Cortez* this answer, that *Mutezuma* his Lorde was very gladd to know, & to be friend to suc̃h a mighty Prince as the king of *Spayne* was, and that in his time should arrine in his countrey such new people, & the like neuer sene befoze, & that he was readie to shew them al pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in neede of for time that he meant to abide there, as well for himselfe as for his ships, army and decesse, and it should be pꝛouided abundantly: yea & also if he could finde any thing in that countrey to his contentment, to pꝛesent to the Emperour of *Christians*, he would willingly pꝛouide it. And as touching the desire that *Cortez* had to come to visite & to haue communication with him, he thought it vnpossible, because that he was sickly and could not come vnto the sea coast, and likewise for *Cortez* to come where he did abide, it was harde, troublesome and difficill, as well for the many and cragged mountaynes, as also the countrey, wilde, desert & without habitation, and shoulde be constrained to suffer hunger, thirst, and other necessitie: and mozeouer the inhabitants of much part of the way that he should passe, were his enemies, both cruell & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friendes, they should not escape with life. All these excuses did *Mutezuma* by the mouth of *Tendilli* declare vnto *Cortez*, thinking to drine him fro his purpose & pꝛetoded iourney, alleaging the foresayd difficultes and perils, the *Indians* did also hope that with some contrary weather they should beforced to leaue that coast & countrey. Notwithstanding this contradiction, so much the more desire had *Cortez* to visite *Mutezuma*, who was so great a prince in that parties, & throughtly to disconer the treasure which he imagined to be there. And hauing receiued his pꝛesent, & also his answer, he gaue vnto *Tendilli* a garment of his

The excuse of  
*Mutezuma*



owne wearyng, and many other trifles of his Haberdashy, to be sente vnto *Mutezuma*, saying that if it were for no other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iuste to trauayle vnto his Court, how much the more, he was of duetie constrained to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Christians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for otherwyse he shoulde incurre the displeasure of the King his mayster, wherefore he besought *Teudilli* yet once agayne to aduertise *Mutezuma* of his constant determination, because he shoulde vnderstande that he would not leaue off his pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was objected vnto him. Alleagying moreover, that he who had comen 2000. leagues by sea, mought well goe 70. leagues by lande, and considering that he had many at his charge with small prouision, and likewise his shippes in danger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. *Teudilli* desired him to recreate himself, & not to take any grief, for as much as he himself did dayly aduertise *Mutezuma* of his proceedings, euen so with all expedition the full resolution should come from *Mexico*, although it were somewhat farre off. And as for his victuals, he shoulde take no care, for abundantly he should be prouided. And also desired him for so much as he was not well placed among those sandy bankes, that it might please him to goe with him to certayne townes aboute fife or seuen leagues fro thence. *Cortez* refused that offer, wherevpon *Teudilli* departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answer from *Mutezuma*.

How



Hovv Cortez knevv of discorde and  
dissention to be in the Countrey.



**I**n this meane season certayne *Indians* were espied, that went lurkyng a farre of among the sandy hilles. And those came not neare the *Indians*, that serued the *Spaniarde*, Cortez demaunded what people they were, & for what cause they went lurkyng so farre off, and came no nêrer vnto them.

The two Captaynes answered, that they were husbandmen, that went aboute theyr husbandry. Cortez lyked not theyr answer, but suspected that they had tolde hym a lye: for it seemed vnto hym that those people desired to come among the *Christians*, and that they durste not with feare of the *Indians* of *Tendilli*, and so it was in very deede. For all that coaste and mayne lande within, as farre as *Mexico*, was full of the newes and straunge things that our men had done in *Potouchan*. Wherefore they all desired to see them and to talke with them, but they durste not for feare of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, who are subiectes vnto *Mutezuma*, wherevpon Cortez sente fve *Spaniardes* to call them with signes and tokens of peate. This company of *Indians* were in number twentie, and were gladd to beholde those fve men commyng towards them, and were desirous to see suche straunge people and shippes. wherefore they came willingly althogether vnto Cortez his Tente.

These *Indians* dyd differ muche from all the other *Indians* yet sene, for they were hygher of person, and had the gyffels of theyr noles slitte, hanging ouer their mouths, and rings of Iette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also theyr neither lippes bozed, and in the holes rings of golde and turky stones, whiche wayed so muche,

The *Indians*  
attyre.

Ally.

that

that their lippes hanged downe ouer theyr chinnes, and their teeth remayned bare: The whiche custome although they vsed for a brauery, it seemed a foule and vgly sighte in the Spanyardes eyes, and very lothsome.

The other *Indians* of *Mutezuma*, had theyr lippes and eares bozed, with rounde stones hangeng at the iaggess thereof, yet they had not suche foule slittes in their noses, but they had suche bozed holes that a manne myght put any finger of his hande through them, with rings of golde and stone hanging thereat, the euill fauour red sighte of theyr faces made our men to muse.

*Cortez* communed with them by hys interpreter *Marina*, to knowe from whence they were, they answered, that they were dwellers in *Zempoallan*, a Cittie distant from thence one dayes iourney, situated vpon a riuer side, and bordered vpon the Countrey of *Mutezumazin*, and that their *Caxique* or *Lorde* had sente them, to see what Goddes were comen in those *Tenucallu*, that is to say, Temple, saying, also that they durste not come soner, not knowyng what people they were.

*Cortez* made muche of them and shewed a cherefull countenaunce vnto them, for they seemed very bestiall, he declared vnto them that he was gladd of theyr comyng, and to knowe the good will that theyr *Lorde* bare vnto him, and gaue them *Haberdashe* toys, and shewed them the Horses and Armour, a straunge sighte for them. And so they wente through the army loking and gasing here and there as menne amazed. And in all the tyme they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other *Indians*. *Cortez* enquired of *Maryna* the cause thereof, and she sayde that those menne did not onely speake an other language, but also did appertayne to another *Lorde*, who was not vassall to *Mutezuma*, but by force and extorcion.

*Cortez*



Cortez was very gladd of that newes, for he con-  
 fectured by the talke of Tzendili that Mutezuma had  
 warres and enimies, wherebpon he toke aside thre  
 of those Indians whiche seemed moste wyssest, and de-  
 maunded of them by Maryna what Lordes there were  
 in that Countrey: they answered that Mutezuma was  
 Lorde ouer all, although in euery Citty and Prouince  
 was a Lorde, yet neuerthelesse all in generall dyd paye  
 tribute and serue him as vassals, may rather lyke Flaues.  
 But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowlege  
 hym by force of armes, and payde vnto him suche tolle  
 and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of  
 whiche number their Lorde of Zempoallan was one of  
 them, and other his neyghbours, who many tymes helde  
 him warre to be free from his tirany and bondage, but  
 yet sayde they, it preuailed not, for his hoste was greate  
 and his warriers valiant.

Cortez receyued greate pleasure to finde in that coun-  
 trey dissention and disorde among some noble inemie,  
 and at deuision among themselves, thinking thereby  
 the better to bying his purpose to passe. He gaue thanks  
 vnto those Indians for their aduise, offering vnto them  
 his fauour, helpe and friendship, praying them to come  
 often to his campe, and so toke his leaue of them, with  
 his commendations to their Lorde, and sente him cer-  
 tayne presents, with aduertisement, that shortly he would  
 come and see him, yea and also serue him.

How



Hovv Cortez vvent to suruey the  
Country with foure hundred men.



At the ende of tenne dayes came Teudilli backe againe, and brought certaine cloth of Cotten, and other things made of feathers well wrought for reconpence of the thyng sente vnto Mexico, and warned Cortez to departe, for at that tyme there was no remedie to see Mutezuma, and to loke what was necessary for his prouision and furniture, and it shoulde be prouided, offering the same seruice at any time that hee shoulde happen to come that way. Cortez would not accept the offer, saying: That he would not departe from that countrey, untill he had bothe seene and talked with Mutezuma. The gouernour Teudilli yet agayne replied, that he shoulde not contende therein, and with those wordes departed from hym. The next night following he with all those Indians as well men as women whiche attended to serue and prouide the Spanishe campe, wente from thence: so that in the morning all the cotages were emptye, where those seruitors had bene.

Cortez suspecting this alteration prouided himselfe with preparation for battayle, & finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to seeke a sure roade or harbor for his nauie, & also a good plotte or situation to buyde vpon, for then he fully meant to obtayne perpetuities to conquere the lande, considering y he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, & thereaboute within a whole league copasse was no fit place for y purpose: for why: all was sandy ground, & such as tossed to & fro with the winde, with other moorish ground not meete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent Francisco de Monteio, with two bergantines, and fiftie men, to runne along the coast,

Coast, untill they should finde some reasonable poart and good situation to build vpon.

*Monteio* proceeded on his voyage, and sayled in sighte of lande, untill he came to *Panuco*, withoute finding anye port or harboz, sauing the shadowe of a Rocke, whiche stode sometowhat distant from the land a sea boord, so that at thye wēkes ende he returned backe agayne with the sayde newes. Having runne so little a way, he fell into suche terrible currants, that although he made waie wth oares and sayles, yet the sayde Currant forced hym backe agayne. Also he broughte newes, that the *Indians* of that coast did let themselues bloud, offering the same vnto them vpon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

The relation of *Monteio* contented not *Cortez*, yet notwithstanding he pretended to goe to the shade or succoure of the Rocke, bycause hee was enformed, that nere that place, was two sayde Riuers, wth store of wooddes, necessarye for tymber and fyre woodde, greate quantitie of stones to builde with, sayde pastures, and ground for tyllage, although the harbour was not sufficiente for hys shauie and contratation, bycause that roade was without defence, and open vpon the South, which is the winde that most ruleth with greatest hurte vpon that coast.

And also considering that *Tendilli* and hys menne were departed, fearing also the want of victuals, and likewise, that hys Shyppes myghte perishe vpon the shore, he commaunded to lade aboard all theyr stuffe, and hee wth foure hundred menne, and all his Horses, followed on the hygh way that the *Indians* hadde gone.

After hee hadde iourneyed thye leagues, hee came to a sayde vadeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, hee founde

found a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes thereof were fledde with feare: he entred into a great house, which seemed the place of the Lords of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was rayfed with handie worke, about a fademe high: the roose was covered with strawe, but of a fayre & strange workmanshippe inwarde, with many greate pertitions, some full of pottes of honey, and Hais, with other grayne whiche they keepe in stowe all the yeate: other rooms had cloth of Cotten wool, wrought with feathers, golde and siluer.

Cortez commaunded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company shoulde take any thyng away, but upon payne of deathe (onely victuals excepted) to the intent to obtayne the good will and friendship among the Indians.

There was in that Village a Temple, whiche hadde a little Tower with a Chappell on the toppe, and twentie steppes to come vnto the Chappell, where they found some Idolles, and many bloudy papers, and much man's bloud of those which hadde bin sacrificed, as *Marina* doo certifie.

They found also the blocke wherevpon they bled to cutte open the menne sacrificed, and the razors made of Flint, wherewith they opened their breastes, and plucked out their heartes being alive, thowling them by the way toward Heauen as an offering, and after this done, they annoynted their Idolles, and the papers they offered, and then burned them.

This sight put a great compassion, pece and a feare among our *Spaniards*, who did beholde these things. From this Village they went to other three or foure, and found none aboue two hundred houses, and all without people, yet well provided with victuall, as the first towne was.

Cortez



Cortez returned from thence to discharge his Shippes, and to take order to sende for moe men : and with desire to beginne habitation, in these affaires he occupied hym selfe tenne dayes.

Howv Cortez rendred vp his charge

and office with pollicie.



Then Cortez was come where his Ships were, and the residue of his company, hee began this talke, saying :

How my louing friends and fellovves, ye doe see what greate mercy God hath shewed vnto vs, in byrning vs safe and in health to so good and riche a Countrey, as by manifest signes and tokens we haue alreadye seene, yea and howe plentifull of meate, inhabited of people, better clothed, and of moze iudgement and reason, than the others whiche ye haue seene, since your firste comming : also better buildings, fieldes of grayne and cozne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet seene, doe surmount all that hither vnto ye haue playnely seene. Wherefore wee ought to giue most hartie thanks vnto God, and to beginne oure habitation heere, whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to byrning this matter to passe, me thinke best that we abide heere, vntill we may finde a better port or scituation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for oure defence, if neede shoulde happen, for the people of this land hath little foy of our comming and abiding heere.

It was then considered that fro that place they might the sooner haue friendshippe and contradaation with the Indian and Townes nexte adioynning, as *Zempoalan*, and others whiche were enimies to *Mutezuma*, and baying in this order once placed, they mighte

h. y.

discharge

discharge their Shyppes, and sende them incontinent to *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, *Iamayca*, *Borriquen*, and other *I*landes, or else to *spayne* for moze men, armour and *h*orses, and for clothing and victuals.

Pollicie.

Moreouer, it was thought iust and mete, to sende relation of all their proceedings to the Emperoure theyr King and maister, with the demonstration of golde, syluer, and other riches, which they had in their power.

And bycause all these things should be done in gods order, *Cortez* determined as Captayne generall, to appoint a Counsell, Aldermen, and Judges.

And also ordeyne all other offices that shoulde be necessary and needefull to rule and gouerne a Citie, whych he then pretended to edifie and create, the whiche Magistrates should fully commaund, vntill such time that the Emperour should other wise prouide in matters conuenient for his seruice.

A good  
subiecte.

After this diligence put in bre, he solemnely toke possession of all y land, in the name of the Emperour *Charles* King of *Castill*, with all the actes and ceremonies, as to such a matter apperteyned. And demaunded of *Francisco Fernandez* notarie appoynted, that he shoulde gyue vnto him by testimonie in wryting, all the actes done therein. All his company answered, that they did very well allowe hys proceedings and praysed, and also approued hys determination, beseeching hym to procede accordingly, sithence they were come to serue and obey hym. Then *Cortez* named Judges, Aldermen, Attozney, Serfeant, Notary, and Towneclearke, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure hys naturall Lord, and deliuered incontinent to the Judges white roddees to beare in their handes in token of Justice, and named the newe Citie to be builde, *The ryche Towne*

*De la*

*De la vera Cruz*, bycause that one goodfriday they had entered into that land. After these things finished, Cortez began before y<sup>e</sup> saide Potary, another act in p<sup>r</sup>esence of the iudges, who were *Alonso Fernandez Potocareno*, and *Frañcisco de Montein*, in whose handes he made t<sup>e</sup>stion, and dyd desyst from all rule and offices whiche heretofore he had receiued, which was his gouernership, captaineship and general discoverer, receiued in the Chauncerie of *Santo Domingo*, at the handes of the p<sup>r</sup>esidentes, who were there chiefe of the kings counsell, and p<sup>r</sup>esidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and auctorizy of the gouernour of *Cuba*, Admirall of *India*, for so much y<sup>e</sup> now none of them had any rule or gouernement in that Countrey which he and his fellowes had newly discovered, and begun to enhabite in the name of the king of Castil, as his naturall subiectes. The which auctoritie he likewise required to be set downe in recozde, and to haue a copie of the same.

### Hovv the foudiours chose Cortez

for Captaine generall, and chiefe ruler  
in Iustice.



**A** the newe officers toke possession and charge of their offices, and entered into the towne house to counsel according to the vse and custome of Castill. In the which congregation or counsel then holden, many matters were had in questi-

on as touching the good gouernemente of the common weale. And among many other things, they al agreed to electe *Hernando Cortez* for captaine generall and chiefe Iustice, and to giue vnto him full power and auctoritie

R. ii.

for



for all matters appertayning to the wars and conquest, vntill such time as the Emperour should otherwise provide: with this determination the next day following al the Aldermen, Judges, and Counsellers, went vnto *Cortex*, and sayde vnto him: Sir we haue greate needs of a guide and captaine for the warres to procede bypon the conquest of this countrey, wherfore vntill such time as y<sup>e</sup> Emperour shall provide therein, they all besought hym to accepte that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit for the same, both to rule and gouerne, for y<sup>e</sup> great experience that they had sene of his courage, wisdom, and pollicie, and by Vertue of their offices, did comaund him to accepte the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the king shoulde bee faithfully serued. And they woulde thankfully gratify the same, knowing that at his hands they should be ruled with iustice, bled with humility, & be preserved with diligence and strength. And for that purpose, they had choisen him for that office, giuing vnto him their ful & whole authority, submitting theselues vnder his hands, iurisdiction & defence. *Cortex* accepted y<sup>e</sup> charge at final entreating, for he desired nothing so much.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsel said vnto him. Sir you do wel vnderstand, that vntill such time as we shal bee better planted in this countrey, we haue not wherewith to maintaine our selues but only w<sup>th</sup> suche things as are aboord our shippes. Wherfore it may please you to commaund it to be brought ashore, and that you take therof what shal seme good vnto you, for your household and familie, and the residue may be tared at a reasonable price, and so to be deuised among them: & for payement they wold al binde theselues, or else y<sup>e</sup> presently it shoulde be deducted out of the stocke, after that the kings s<sup>h</sup>are parts were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his shippes and artillery, because they wold make

like payment for the same, and that fro thence forwarde  
 the ships should serue in common, for to passe to the I-  
 lads for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, horses, and other  
 things which should be needful for the new towne and  
 army, for thereby they might be better cheape prouided  
 than if merchants should prouide them, considering al-  
 way they seke for excessive gaine, saying that if it would  
 please hym to accepte thys offer and request, they would  
 thankfully requite the same. Cortez answered, that at y  
 time he made his preparation and furniture in Cuba, he  
 ment not to sel his prouision as others vsed to do, but he  
 would and did frankly giue it vnto them, although hee  
 had spent his goods and indetted himselfe therein. And in  
 continent he commaunded the masters of the ships and  
 passengers, to bring a lād at their vidual to the town house,  
 requirring the Aldermen to deuide it equally, to euery  
 man his part, without making any difference of him or  
 of any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of viduals y  
 pson it hath as much allowance as the eldest. And al-  
 though I am indetted and doe owe more than seauen ap-  
 Duckets, I giue this vidual al frankly vnto you. And  
 as concerning the ships, I wil do y which shal be most co-  
 uenient for you al. And (quoth he) I wil determin nothing  
 to be done with thē, but will first giue you aduertisemēt  
 of the same. Cortez for to get their loue and fauour, by  
 cause there were many that loued hym not, although he in  
 very truth he was of his own nature liberal and large  
 in experiences with al his souldiers in the warres.

Liberality

The



## The receiuing of Cortez into

Zempoallan.



As much as the situation there was not convenient to place the new worke, they determined to go from thence, to *Aguahuitlan*, which standeth nere the shadowe of the rocke that *Montez* had informed them of, wherevppon Cortez commaunded the shippes to depart, for that place. And he with his foure hundred men and hoxses would goe by land, and there mete the, which may be about ten leagues iorney. In this order the flete departed, and likewise Cortez with his company toward *Zempoallan* which stode directly westward. And after he had iourneyed three leagues he came to the riuer which deuided the Lordshippes of *Muteczuma* and *Zempoallan*; & could finde no passage, wherefoze he was forced to returne to the seashide, where with muche adoe they passed over, and so tranayled on that side of the riuer, & found cotages of fishermen and other poore houses; and some sown ground, and proceeding on their iorney at length they came into very faire valleys, wher was great store of deare, and stil they went along the riuer side, hoping to finde some good towne, and in short space, they espied neare twenty persons vppon the toppe of a hill, Cortez commaunded foure of his horsemen to fetch them vnto him, willing the to make signes of peace vnto them, but if they fle (quoth he) then follow them, vntill you ouertake them, for they shall stand vs in scade, as wel to lead vs the way as to serue vs for enterprisers.

The



The horſemen toke on theyꝝ way, and when they came to the hill toppe, they made ſignes of peace vnto them, but the poore and fearefull *Indians* fledde with ſpede, yea being amafed and in great feare to beholde ſuche a monſterous thyng as a horſeman, beleuyng aſſuredly, that horſe and man was one thing incorporate, but in theyꝝ ſight they were ſone ouertaken, and they yelded themſelues, and ſo were all brought vnto *Cortez*.

*Simpliſtic.*

Theſe men had in theyꝝ eares and noſes boꝝed holes, with rings of golde hangyng thereat, ſoꝝ ſo was the uſe of *Zempoallan*: they enformed *Cortez* that the *Cittie* was neare at hande. *Cortez* demaunded the cauſe of their comyng thither, they answered to behold and ſee ſo ſtraunge a ſight, but why fledde you then (quoth he?) ſoꝝ feare only ſir ſayde they, of people which we knew not. Then *Cortez* willed them to put all feare aſide, and tolde them that he with his ſmall company would goe vnto their *Cittie* to viſite their *Loꝝde*, and to be acquainted with him: the *Indians* ſayde, that the day was farre ſpent, and that it was late to goe that night to *Zempoallan*, but if it pleaſed hym they would condauct him to a village whiche ſtoode on the other ſide of the Riuer and within ſight, and althoꝝgh it were but a ſmall village, yet there was reaſonable lodging with meate ſufficiente ſoꝝ his armie: their counſell ſeemed well, ſo they wente to that village, and when they were comen thither, the *Indians* craued licence to goe & to aduertife their *Loꝝde* how the ſtraungers abode in that place, promiſing to returne the nexte day with anſwere. Some of the *Indians* had licence to do the meſſage, the others abode there, attending and providing ſoꝝ the newe geſtes, & in this order they were all lodged and their ſupper abundantly provided. That night *Cortez* fortified himſelfe as ſtrong as mought be, and the nexte morning came a hundꝛeth men laden with *Vennes*, ſaying that

A.

theyꝝ

their Lord much reioyced of their comming, and because he was so grosse and unwealdie, he came not personallie vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he aboade in the cittie expecting his comming. Cortez friendly welcomed them, and with that presente, he and his company brake their fatte, and then proceeded with his guides in good order with two fauonets in readinesse, if neede should happen: and from that passage of the riuer they had a faire way vntil they came to another riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discouered Zempoallan, whiche stode a myle distant from them, all beset wyth fayre Orchards and Gardens, verie pleasaunt to beholde: they vsed all wayes to water them with fluses when they pleased.

There proceeded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and receiue so strange a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenance, and presented vnto the diuers kinde of floures, and sundry frutes, which none of our menne had heeretofore seene. These people came without feare among the Ordinance, with this pompe, triumph and ioy they were receiued into the Citie, which seemed a beautifull Garden: for the trees were so greene and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

Mens folly  
vvith a  
great lye.

At the Citie gate stode many grane persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Citie, who solemnely welcomed the Strangers. Sire Hoysmen, which hadde gone befoze the army to discover, returned backe as Cortez was entring into the Citie, saying, that they had seene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with siluer. Cortez commaunded them to procede on, willing them not to shew any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the streets were replenished with people, whiche stode gaping and wondering at the hoyses and strangers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hande, a great wal-  
led



led house made of lyme and stone, with loupe holes and towlers, whited with playster that shined lyke siluer, being so well burnished and the sunne glistering vpon it. And that was the thing that the Spaniards thought had bene walles of siluer. I doe beleue that with the imagination and great desire whiche they had of golde and siluer, all that shined they deemed to be the same mettall.

Within this great house was a long row of lodgings, and on the other side sire oz seven Towers one higher than another. They proceeded on, dissimulynge the errour of the siluer walles, and followed their guide vntill suche time as they came to the Lordes lodging, who came forth accompanied with many auncient persons, and better attired than the other Citizens were, with two Gentlemen that ledde him by the armes. They saluted eche other according to the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallyace, where certayne principall men conducted Cortes and all his frayne to their lodgyng, and Captayne Cortes was lodged in the house whiche had the glistering walles, situated in the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him and all his company. And when they were placed, and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adozned with siluer, they founde them cleane contrary. Cortes deuised his men, caused his boyles to be trimmed, and planted his ordinaunce at his doze, making himselfe as strong as though he had bene in campe and nere his enemies. And commaunded, that none of his men shoulde goe out of the house without his expresse licence vpo payne of death. The officers of the Lorde prepared a plenteous supper for them, and beddyng according to their vse.

A vigilant  
Captayne.



## The talke that the Lorde of Zempolan had with Cortez.



He nerte day in the moorning came the Lorde, to visite Cortez with an honorable company, and presented vnto him many garmets wrought of Cottē wolle, according to their fashion, with a knot on the shoulder like vnto the Egyptian garments, and certaine iewels of golde that might be worth two thousande Ducates, besechyng both him and his company to recreate themselves and take their rest, and at that present he meante not to trouble him with any matters: And so toke his leaue for that time as he had done the day befoze, willing him to demaunde and call for any thing that he should neede. Cortez gaue him hartie thāks, and so departed.

Then came moe Indians in number than there were Spaniardes, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sorte they were feasted & baked fiftene daies most plētuously. The next day folowynge, Cortez sent vnto the Spaniardes certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, besechyng him to appoynt a day of conference at his owne pallyce: woꝝde was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Wherevpon Cortez toke with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodgyng in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captayne to gouerne them. The Lorde hearing of his comming, came out of his Courte into the streete to receyue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that countrey, the plotte that they buylde vpon is rayled a sadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon

upon Steppes, and the walles plaistered with very white lime, their tile is eyther of straw or leaues of trees, very beautifull and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the rayne. The Lorde and Cortes saite them downe upon thre footed stoles made all of one peece, the Lorde commaunded his seruitours to stande aside, and by their interpreters they began to commune of their assayres a great space, in demaundes and answeres, because Cortes desired to be well instructed of the assayres of that countrey, and lykelwise of that mightie kyng of *Mutezuma*.

This *Cacike* or Lorde although he were huge and laden with fleshe, yet in his demaundes and questions seemed very wise. The summe of all Cortes his talke was to shewe the cause of his comming thither, and who had sente him, euen as he had done in *Tanasco* to *Tendilli* and others.

This *Cacike* after he had heard Cortes attentiuely, he began a long communication, making his complaynt and opening his grieffe in this sorte.

Mightie Sir, my Antecessors liued a long tyme in great peace, libertie and quietnesse, but of late yeres my countrey and Cittie was destroyed by tiranny, because the Lordes of *Mexico Tenuchtitlan* with their men of *Culhua* did not only vsurpe my Citie, but also my lands by force of armes, in suche sorte that my power coulde not resist them. And in the beginning those Princes beganne theyr vsurpation by way and colour of religion and holinesse, and afterwarde with force of armes, and with this title became Lordes ouer vs.

The Indians  
complaynt.

Vnder colour of  
holinesse.

And now we seying our errour, haue thought it to late to preuaile agaynst them to take away our yoke of seruitude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as we haue so done, still the victorie was theirs, and the ouerthrowe ours. Nowe all suche as doe

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submitte

submitte themselves vnto them, are taxed with certayne tributes, and reknowlegging them for Lordes, are defended by them, and esteemed as friends. But if after such submission made, any chaunce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after Sacrifice made to the Goddes of warre, called *Texcatlipuca* and *Vitzilopuchili* of thei carkasses, then is thei flesh eaten in banquet, and those who remaine alpyue, doe serue for slaues, yea and the Fathers, Mothers and Childzen, are compelled to labour and toyle from the Sunne rising to the Sunne setting, with confiscation of all thei godes and landes. And besides all this crueltie and vituperie, they sende thei officers and Serieantes to execute the premisses, who without either pittie or mercie many tymes suffereth them to sterue with hunger. And beyng thus cruelly punished of *Mutezuma*, who nowe reigneth in *Mexico*, who woulde not suffer to bee Masall willingly to so good a Prince as you enformed me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to bee free from suche vexation and robbery whiche suche a mighty King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushed out of his eyes, and pausing a while, he beganne to extoll the strength, magnificence and situation of *Mexico* planted in a greate lake of water: also he exalted the riches, courte, Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*. He sayde also howe *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and other prouinces thereabout, as also the people called *Totonaquez* of the Mountaynes were of contrary opinion to the *Mexicans*, yea enemies vnto them, who had intelligence what had happoned in *Tanasco*. Yea sir (quoth he) if it please you, I will treat such a compact with this people that *Mutezuma* with all his power shall not preuaile agaynst vs.

Cortes reioyced in harte to heare this newes, and sayde



sayde vnto him. It grieueth mee to heare of the euill vſage of *Mutezuma* towardes his countrey, and ſubiectes. But I aſſure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, pea and reuenge all your iniuries, for my commyng hither is to take away all euill cuſtomes, and to helpe the oppreſſed, to fauour the pryſoner, and comforte the afflicted, and chiefly to abolishe tyrannie. And for the good entertaynement that I haue receyued at your handes, I doe remaine yours to doe you any pleaſure, and to defende you agaynſt your enimies, and the lyke will I doe for your friends, wherefore I pray you aduertise them thereof as many as are of our confederacie.

*Cortes* then tooke hys leaue, ſaying that he had bene many dayes there, and that he had greate neede to goe viſite his ſhippes and menne, who muche deſired his returne, and abode in *Aquiabuitlan*, where hee meante to ſojourne for a certayne ſeaſon, and from thence dayly they mighte conferre of their affayres. The *Lorde of Zempoallan* ſayde, that if it pleaſed hym to abyde with him hee woulde gladly accept it, and if his buſineſſe were ſuche that he might not, that then he beſought him to remember him.

When the *Lorde* commaunded eyght maydens to be called, who were very well apparellled after theyr maner, theyr attyre was muche lyke the *Moriſca* faſhion, (the one of them was moze coſtely apparellled than the others) and ſayde vnto *Cortes*, all theſe maydens whiche you here ſee are Gentlewomen, noble and riche, and this mayden whiche is beſte attired, is a Lady of *Naſſals*, and my brothers daughter, I doe preſente hyr vnto you (meaning that *Cortes* ſhoulde marrie with hyr,) and the others you may beſtow vpon the Gentlemen in your company, in a token of perpetuall loue and friendſhip.

*Cortes* receyued the preſente with thanks, bycauſe he

An other  
giſte.

would

woulde not offende the giuer thereof. And so departed with their women ridyng behinde them, with many Indian women to wayte vpon them, and many Indian men to beare them company, and to puruey all things necessarie.

Things that happened to Cortez  
in Chiauiztlan.



The same day that they departed fro Zempoallan they came to Chiauiztlan, and yet the shippes were not arriued. Cortes marueyled at their long taryng in so shoyte a iourney. Ther was a village within shotte of a hargabushe from the rocke called Chiauiztlan standyng vpon a litle hill. Cortes hauyng litle to do, went thither with his men, and the Indians of Zempoallan, who certified Cortes that the village was appertaynyng to a Loyde oppressed by Mutezuma. They came to the fote of the hill, without sighte of any man of the towne, excepte two, that Marina vnderstode not, and going by the hill, the hozsemen to fauour their hozses would alight, bicause the ascending was cragged and euill way. Cortes commaunded that they shoulde not alight, bycause the Indians shoulde thinke that there was no place highe nor lowe, but that these hozses shoulde and coulde come vnto it. So by litle and litle they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some decepte, yet appochoyng further, they mette with twelue auncient men, whiche brought with them an interpreter who vnderstode the language of Culhua and the speache of that place, whiche is the language of the Totonagues, or inhabitantes of the Mountaynes. These auncient menme declared that the cause of theyr goyng out of the

the towne, was by cause that they had neuer sene anye such men as the Spaniards were, nor yet heard that any such had passed that way, wherefore with feare they had fledde from thence. But (quoth they) when the Lord of Zempoallan aduertised vs, how you did hurt no bodye, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then wee were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And wee are now come vnto you on the behalfe of the Lord, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thanks, and went with them to a certaine place where the Lord was abyding their comming wel accompanied: he shewed vnto the Christians great good wil, and marvelled to see those straungers with their long beards.

The Lord toke a little chafynge dishe in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gumme, whych sauoured in swet smel much like vnto frankincense. And with a sencer he smoked Cortez with this ceremony they vse their salutations to theyr gods and nobilitie.

A strange  
saluration.

This done they set them down, and Cortez enformed him of the cause of their comming into that countrey as he had done in all other places where he had bin.

A strange  
hap.

The Caske certified Cortez even as the Lord of Zempoallan had done, but he stood in great feare lest Mutezuma should be offended for receyuing and lodging him with in that towne, without his commaundement, and being in this communication, sodenly appeared twentye men entring where they sate, w<sup>th</sup> certain wads like cudgels in their hands, which did signify y they were rent gatherers & in ech other hand, a flye flap of feathers, the Cacike & his company were soare asrayde. Cortez demaunded wherefore he so altered himself, he answered, because those twety Indians were collectors of Mutezuma, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, hauing founde those

¶

Christians



Christians there, he feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. Cortes comforted him, saying that *Mutezuma* was his friende, and that he would so vse the matter that he shoulde receyue no blame at all, but rather that *Mutezuma* shoulde giue him thankses for that whiche he had done: And if *Mutezuma* did not, or would not so accept it, that then he would defend both him and his subjects, for (quoth he) every one of my mē is sufficient for a thousand *Mexicans*, as *Mutezuma* himselfe was well enformed by the late warres at *Potonchan*.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the *Lorde* and all his folke were in great feare, and meante to arise and to lodge the receyuers. Cortes woulde not suffer him, and bycause (quoth he) thou shalt see what I and my men can doe, commaund thy seruants to apprehend and take prisoners these receyuers of *Mexico*, and I will abide here with thee, in such sorte that *Mutezuma* with all his power shall not offende thee.

The receyuers put in prison.

With the courage that he receyved at these wordes, he commaunded to lay hande vpon the *Mexicans*, and by cause they defended themselves, they were soze beaten, and layde euery one in a severall prison, and bounde them to a great poste whereat they were tied by the throte, fete, and handes, and beyng in this sorte imprisoned, they asked of Cortes whether they should kill them. Cortes requested that they should not be slaine, but that they might remayne as they were, with good watch that they might not escape: Then they were brought into a hall in the *Spaniards* lodging, and were placed rounde aboute a god fire, but yet bounde hande and fote with garde of watchmen. Cortes also appoynted certaine of his men to watch the hall doze, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was well prouided at the *Carzik* furniture.

The

## The messages sent by Cortez

vnto Mutezuma.



He nighte beyng farre spent, and the *Indians* that kepte the watch being asleepe, Pollicle.

Cortes sente vnto the Spanyardes that watched at the hall doze where the prysoners were, and commaunded them to let goe twow of the prysoners, as secretly

as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spanyardes handled the matter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought twow of them to Cortes his chamber, who looked vpon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed *Aguillar* and *Maryna* to demaunde who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bene in pryson. They answered, that they were vassals of *Mutezuma*, and that they had the charge to receyue certayne tributes, that those of that towne & prouince payde vnto their Lorde. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are nowe imprysoned and so euelly used. We rather woder to see this new custome and madnesse, for in time past these men were wont to meete vs and receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Therefore we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you and your company, who beare the name of immortallitie. We also feare least our felowes which are in pryson shal be slaine, before *Mutezuma* haue knowlege therof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the Mountaynes, would be glad to rebel if they found any succour or ayde, only to put their Prince to cost and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they mosse humbly besought Cortes that hee shoulde not permitte them and their fellowes to be slaine,

nor yet to abide in the handes of their enimies wheresh he should do singular pleasure to *Mutesuma* their lord, & otherwise if they should perish, their Lord would be very sorrowfull that his olde, faithfull and trustie seruants should haue such a reward for their good seruice.

A wise  
Captaine.

*Cortez* answered that it grieved him much, that *Mutesuma* his friend should be misused wher he was, no nor yet his seruantes euill entreated, and that hee would haue as muche care ouer them as of his owne, willing them to prayse the god of heauen, and to be thankfull vnto him that had commaunded them to be set at liberty, in the grace and friendship of *Mutesuma*: he certified that in all haste they should be dispatched, for *Mexico* with certaine busynesse therefore (quoth he) get you to meate, and make you stragg to take in hand that iourney, trusting to your sixte least ye should be taken againe to your greate perill and daunger, I wis their meate was sone eaten with the great hast they had to be gone.

*Cortez* brought them out of the towne and gaue them victuall to carry with them. And charged for the liberty and curtesie shewed vnto them, that they should signifye to *Mutesuma* their Lord, holue that he was his assured friend, and that after he had vnderstanding of his fame, goodnes and mighty power, he much desired to serue him yea and that he helde himselfe happy, to fynde himselfe at such a time & season to lose those his seruants, and to shew therein his good wil, likewise he would do all that lay in him to p̄serue the honour and auctority of so gret a Prince as hee was, & also to defende his subiectes and to loke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his highnesse dyd little esteeme hys friendship as appeared by *Tendilli*, who departed from him without bidding him farewell, and likewise absenting all the people of the sea coaste: yet thys notwithstanding he would not let



let to do him seruice at all times when occasion shoulde serue, and to procure by all meanes possible his grace, fauour, and friendship, and that he was fully perswaded, that his hyghnesse woulde not refuse his good will and friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God had done much for him, to make with a seruante of the Emperoures, for thereby he might know great secretes of holy things, and also receyue greate benefytes, if then he would refuse the same, the fault shoulde be his: but yet notwithstanding he trusted in his wisdom, that considering the thing well, he woulde be glad both to see hym, and talke with him, and also to be friende and brother with the King of *spayne*, in whose most happie name, both he and his company were come thither. And as touching his seruantes that remayned in prison, he woulde so vse the matter, that they should escape all perill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him, and that incontinente he woulde haue done it, but onely because he woulde not offende the Lorde of the Towne, who had friendly entertayned him with greate curtesie, for which cause he would not presume to controll him in his owne house, nor yet to shewe himselfe vntankefull. The messengers departed with this message very glad and ioyfull, promising to accomplishe faithfully þe charge committed vnto them.

### The confederacy and rebellion

*done by the industrie of Cortez.*



When the *Cazike* founde missing the two prisoners, he blamed muche the garde or watch, and pretended soorthwith to murder those that remayned. Then came *Cortez*, and requested that their deathe should be pardoned, for so muche as they

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were

were but officers obediēte to their Lorde and maſter, and according to iuſtice they had committed no offence, nor yet deſerued anye correccion in the ſaue, whiche was ſeruiſe to their King: but for ſo muche as they ſhall not ſee as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto me, and I will take them to my cuſtody and charge.

Upon this request the eyghtēe priſoners were deliuered vnto Cortez, who ſent them aboarde his Shyppes, and there commaunded them to be put in priſons. The Lorde and his counſellores ſearing what mighte followe, entred into counsell what was beſt to doe, conſidering that they certaynely beleued that the two priſoners whiche were eſcaped, would certifie in *Mexico* the ſhame and cruell entertaynemente done vnto them. Some replied that it was iuſt and requiſite to ſende vnto *Mutezuma* hys tribute, with other preſentes, to mitigate hys anger, and to excuſe them, and accuſe the Chriſtians, who were the cauſes of the apprehenſion of his officers, and to craue pardon of their erreure and ouerſight whiche they hadde committed as madde men, in diſhonor of the maiestie of *Mexico*. Others answered agayne, that it were muche better to caſt off that yoke of bondage and ſlanery, and to giue no longer obediēce to the *Mexicans*, who were both cruell and wicked tyrants, and alſo conſidering that now they had on their ſide thoſe halfe Gods, and inuincible hoſemen, ſaying likewiſe that they ſhould not wante many others their neyghbours and borderers to help and ſuccour them.

Diners opinions in counsell.

In this ſorte they reſolued themſelues fully to rebell, and not to loſe ſo good an occaſion, wherevppon they beſoughte *Hernando Cortes* to bee their defendor and Captayne, conſidering that for his ſake they had begun that enterpriſe, and whether *Mutezuma* ſhoulde prepare hys army againſte them or no, yet they on their parte were fully

fully pretended to hold hym warre, and to desist from seruitude.

God knoweth how glad Cortes was to heare this matter, for he well wayed that it was the high way to hys tourneys ende: yet dissimuling the cause, he answered that they should well looke to the thing which they meant to take in hande, bycause (quoth he) I vnderstande that *Mutezuma* is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly procede, I will be youre Captayne, and safely defende you, for I do moze esteeme your friendship, than the good will of *Mutezuma*, whyche I nothing care for: therefore lette me knowe what number of men of warre ye are able to make. Sir (quoth they) among all our friends wee are able to make a hundred thousande menne of warre. I lyke that well quoth Cortes, wherefore incontinente sende youre posses, with aduise vnto all your friendes in league againste *Mutezuma*, and certifie them of this agremente and succoure of the Chyistians, not (quoth he) that I stande in neede of your help, for I alone with my company are able to stande againste those of *Culhua*, although they were as manye moze, but reason required that they shoulde be warned of your presence, and to be in readinesse for the same, fearing least *Mutezuma* mighte sende his army vpon a suddayne, and finde you vnprovidid.

With this aduise and encouragement of Cortes, & also they themselues being a people heady and of small consideration, they dispatched incontinent their messengers to all the Townes and Villages of neyghbours and friendes, aduertising them what they hadde determined, exalting the strangers aboue the cloudes.

And by this meanes rebelled many *Cazikes* & townes, and all the whole Mountaynes, so y there was not left a ny collector, or other officer of *Mexico* in al those borders,

with



with open proclamation of warres againſte *Mutezuma*, and all his adherentes.

*Cortez* his intent was on the other ſide, to ſtirre vp theſe Indians, to get both their goddes, willes, and landes, for otherwiſe, he could not well bzing his matter to paſſe: he only cauſed the officers of *Mutezuma*, to be taken priſoners, and to be louſed agayne, he fayned a greate loue to *Mutezuma*, and ſtirred his ſubiectes agaynſte him, he offered to be their defendoꝝ, and leſte them rebelled, to the intent that they ſhould ſtand in neede of him.

### The foundation of the riche

*Towne called Vera Cruz.*



This inſtant the Flēte was arriued at the port, then wente *Cortez* to viſit them, and carried with him many Indians of the Rebels, both of that Towne, and alſo of *Zempoallan*, who did god ſervice to cutte downe timber, and to carrie ſtones to the place appoynted, for the building of the Citie, named the riche towne of *Vera Cruz*, accordyng to the determination, when the officers were appoynted for the ſame, and choſen in *S. Iohn de Vlhua*, and in god order made repertition to the inhabitants of the ground, and plottes to builde vpon.

They appoynted alſo a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne houſe, a Gayle, ſtoꝝ houſes, a kay or Wharfe, to lade or vnlade, a butcher row, & other places neceſſary to the god gouernement and pollicie of a Towne. They alſo drew out a plot to build the Caſſel or Fort on, nere the roade in a place conueniente, and in this ſort began they worke, and their houſes made with mudw all, for the earth there is good for that purpoſe. And euery man being this occupied in this new worke,

came

came from Mexico two kinsmen of Mutezuma, with other four graue learned menne for Councellozs, and many seruing men that attended vpon them, as Ambassadors from Mutezuma, they presented vnto Cortez cer-  
 tayne cloth of Cotten well woouen, and feathers curi-  
 ously and synely wroughte, other pecces of golde and sil-  
 uer wrought, and a Casket of graynes of golde, as they  
 were founde in the Pyenes not molten, which wayed al-  
 togyther two thousand & ninetie Caskins, & sayd, y Mutezuma  
 hadde sente hym the golde in the Casket, to cure  
 theyr disease, and woulde gladly knowe howe they fa-  
 red, giuing also vnto him most hartie thankes, for losing  
 his two housholde seruauntes, and preserving the others  
 from slaughter, beseechynghym to make accompte, that  
 hee woulde doe the lyke in anye affayres of his, desiring  
 hym also to procure the libertie of the other eyghtene  
 Prisoners: and bycause those Indians hadde entertayned  
 hym well in their houses; he did pardon their vproze,  
 yet notwithstanding he knewe very well that they were  
 suche a kynde of people, that in shorte space they woulde  
 committe some other offences, whereby they myght be  
 chastised for all togyther, euen as a Dogge deserueth  
 stripes. And as concernynge the rest of hys request,  
 theyr Lorde was not well at ease, and also occupied in  
 matters of warre of greate importance, whereby at  
 that presente, there was no remedie to visit eache other,  
 but in procelle of tyme his desire shoulde be accom-  
 plished.

Cortez welcommed them friendly and ioyfully, and al-  
 so lodged them in Cotages nere vnto the water side, and  
 sent forthwith for the Lorde of Chiautzulan, that had re-  
 belled, who came at his commandement. Cortez sayd vnto  
 him, lo see what troth I haue vsed with thee, for Mutezuma  
 dareth not to send any army, no noz yet displease anye

p.

person

Embassa-  
dois.

person where I am. Therefore from this daye forwarde you and all your lignage and friendes maye accompte your selues free and exempt from the seruitude of *Mexico*, without rendyng the tributes accustomed. He requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to restore the to the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*. This *Cazike* wylled Cortez to doe what pleased him, for sayde he, euen as wee haue chosen you for oure Captayne, we will not errede one iote of youre commaundemente: wherevpon he returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward *Mexico*, all well pleased and content.

Some same flew abzoade, blasing that *Mutezuma* feared the Chyistians, wherevpon all the *Totonaques* prepared themselves for the warres, taking cleane awaye from *Mexico* their tribute and obedience.

The Ambassadors departed from Cortez with theyz prisoners, and manye other things that were giuen the, of linnen, wollen, skynnes, glasse, and yron, being greatly amazed at the things which they had sene.

### Hovv Cortez rooke by force of

*armes Tizapanfinca.*



At long after that these things had happened, the Indians of *Zempoallan* sente unto Cortez, to desire him of succour against the garris of *Culhua*, which *Mutezuma* maineyned in *Tizapanfinca*, who did greatly annoy them, in spoyling, burning, and destroying theyz corne in the fields, and slew their husbandmen, and toke many prisoners. The Towne of *Tizapanfinca* doth confine with the *Totonaques*, and with the grounde of *Zempoallan*, and is a good strong Towne, seituated nere the River, and hath a fort standing vpon a high rocke. And because  
this



this Towne was strong, and planted among them who were alwayes seditious and Rebelles, *Mutezuma* placed there his garrison, who seeing the officers of recepuers and auditors come flying thither for helpe, being persecuted of the Rebels, they wente out to pacifie the Rebellion, and for to chasten them, they burned and destroyed whatsoeuer they found, and also had taken many prisoners.

*Cortez* hearing this newes, departed towarde *Zempoallan*, and from thence in two dayes journey with a greater armye of Indians to *Tizapanfinca*, whiche stode eyght leagues and moze from that Citie.

The garrison of *Culhua* came into the felds, thinking to haue hadde battayle onely with those of *Zempoallan*, but when they saw the Horsemen and the bearded men, they lost theyr courage, and beganne to flye as fast as they myghte possible: theyr succoure being nere, they were sone in holde: they woulde haue entred into theyr Castell, but for y swiftnesse of the Horses which stopped theyr way.

And when the Horses coulde not ascende vp vnto the forte, *Cortez* alighted with other foure of hys men, and among the preece of the Townesmen got into the forte, and being within, they kept the doze tyll theyr companye came wpyth manye friends, vnto whome hee deluyered the forte and Towne, desiring to do no hurte to the inhabitantes, but to suffer them to depart freely without weapon and standerde. It was a newe worlde to those Indians, who did fullfyll *Cortez* hys commaundemente in all poyntes. Thys done, *Cortez* returned agayne to the Sea coast, by the same way whiche hee hadde come.

This was the firste victory that *Cortez* had among the subiectes of *Mutezuma*, whereby all the Mountaynes

P. y.

remained

The vall-  
ant cou-  
rage of  
Cortez

remayned free from the verations of the *Mexicans*, and all our men with great fame and reputation, as well among their friendes, as among their enimies, in so much that afterwarde when any neede did happen among the *Indians*, they would immediately sende vnto *Cortes* for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the *Chrystians*, was sufficient to be their Captayne and securitie.

This was a good begynnyng for the pretence of *Cortes*. Now when he came to *Vera Cruz* wyth hys company triumphantly, he founde there *Francisco de Salzeda*, who was come with his caruell which he had boughte of *Alonso Canallero*, a dweller in *Saint James de Cuba*, and was left there to be grounde and dyessed at his departure from thence. He brought with him, 70. Spanyarden, and nine Horses and Mares, wherewith they all maruellously reioyced.

The presents that *Cortez* sent to  
the Emperour for his fiste.



*Cortez* made greate hast in building vp the new town and the Castell, because the Citizens and souldiers mighte haue succoure against winde and rayne, and commoditie of householde, and lykelike to be assured of defence against enimies if neede shoulde happen, pretending lykewise with all expedition, to enter within the land toward *Mexico*, to visit *Mutizuma*, and to leaue in that new worke all thing in good order, he finished many thinges, touching as well the peace as the warre.

He

He commaunded to be brought a lande out of his shippes all the armour & other furniture for the warres, with the Merchandise, victuall and other prouision, and to deliuer it to the rulers of the newe Cittie, according to his promise. He also signified vnto all his company that it was mete and conuenient, to sende relation to the King of all the proceedings and dealings in that countrey, with demonstration of Golde and Silver there founde.

And (quoth he) to deale uprightly in this case, it is necessary to deuide equally our treasure to euery man his portion, according to the vse of the warres, the deuision being made, then firste and principally lette vs deduct the Kings fiftie parte. And for the better performance therof, I doe name and appoynt *Alonso de Zuila* Treasurer for the King, and also I doe elect *Gonsalo Mexia* Treasurer of the armie.

All the newe Magistrates ratified his sayings, and allowed his discretion and wisdom, praying the election of the newe officers as men moste mete for suche an office, and besought them to accept the charge.

This diligence done, he commaunded to bring forth into the markette place all the goodes and treasure which they had gotten, as well cloth of Cotten, Feathers, Golde, and Plate, whiche mought amount vnto in value the summe of. 27000. Ducates: The same he caused to be deliuered vnto the newe elected treasurers by account, requestyng the whole counsell of the Cittie that they shoulde make deuision thereof. The counsellours and communalitie replied, saying: Sir here is nothing to deuide, for deductyng the fiftie parte whiche appertayneth to the King, all the reste shall be to make payment for the furniture whiche you prepared for this voyage, and you being satisfied, then the shippes, munition and furniture

*P. iij.*

shall



shall serue in common for vs all, beseeching him with one assent to take all the treasure, and to sende vnto the kings maiestie his portion or fiftte parte, euen as shoulde seme most conuenient vnto him.

*Liberalitie  
of Cortez.*

Cortez replied and sayde, that time hereafter shoulde serue to pay him according to their gentle offer: But for this present time my louyng felowes (quoth he) I will receyue no moze than the share or portion that appertayneth vnto my office of generall Captayne, and all the residue shal be for the Gentlemen of my company, wherewith ye may beginne to make payment of your debtes, whiche ye ought when ye made your prouision to come with me on this voyage.

And where I haue appoynted certayne things to send to the King, of moze value than his fiftte parte, it might please them, for as muche as they were suche things as coulde not be well deuided, and likewise the firste fruite of that Conquest, freely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely poynt. They al in generall graunted to his request, wherevpon he toke out of the stocke, these things followyng.

## Inuentary.



Firste the two wheeles of Golde and silver, whiche *Hendilli* presented vnto him on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*.

A collar of golde of eight peeces, whereat hanged a hūdzeth and four scoze and thre little *Emeraldes*, and two and thirtie little

the redde stones, lyke vnto Rubies, of small value: there hanged at the same collar seauen and twentie litle belles of Golde, and certayne heads of pearle.

Another collar of foure doubled twisse, with a hundzeth and two Rubies, and a hundzeth and seuentie and two Emeraldes, and tenne good pearles well sette, and for border or fringe five and twentie belles of golde: both those collars were beautifull to beholde, and had many other fine thyngs wrought in them, than is here declared.

Many graynes of golde of the bignesse of a pease, euen as they were founde.

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sorte.

A Helmet of woodde champed with golde and besette with stones, and at the beuier five and twentie belles of golde, and vpon the toppe a græne birde, with his eyes, beake, and fete of golde.

A sallet of planches of golde, and belles rounde aboute it, decked with stone.

A bracelet of golde of small weight.

A rodde lyke vnto a roiall Scepter, with two rings of golde hangyng thereat, garnished with pearle.

Foure forkes with three shephokes at ech, couered with feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Dære skynnes, sowd with golde threde, and in the soales were sette certayne stones of colour white and blew which they had sayd.

Five payre of letherne shoes of diuers colours, garnished with golde, silver, and pearle.

A Targatte of woodde couered with leather, beset round about with belles of Latton, and the bolle in the midst was

was planched with gold, and there was engraued by  
on the same *Visflapuehli*, God of the warres, and also  
four heads set crossewise, whiche heades were of a  
Lion, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, verie liuely  
made with feathers.

Many skinnnes of beast and foule, corried and dresed in  
their feathers and in haire.

Four and twenty targets of gold feathers, and set with  
pearle both curious and gallant to behold.

Five Targets of feathers and siluer.

Four fishes of gold wel wrought.

Two birdes called Auades, and other birdes of gold.

Certaine Hatchets and a rod of latten.

Diuerseloking glasses garnished with gold.

Many Myters and crownes of gold & feathers wrought  
of many colours belet with pearle and stone.

Many faire feathers of sundry colours.

Many tusses of feathers adozned with siluer and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, wouen of sundry col-  
lours, and in the middest a blacke whele made of fea-  
thers.

Many surplises, vestments, palles, frontals and orna-  
ments of Idols alters and temples.

Many couerlets of cotten of diuersel colours, whiche  
shewed like unto vnshorne beluet.

Manye shirtes, Jackettes, headclothes and other nape-  
rie.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

All these things wer more beautiful than rich, although  
the wherles were very rich, the workmanship of all the  
rest, was more worth than the thing it selfe. The colours  
of the cloth of cotten wol was exceeding fine, and the fea-  
thers natural.

The pounced worke in gold and siluer did exceed our  
gold.



goldsmithes, of whiche things we wil wytte in an other place. They ioyned with this present certaine Indian bookes of figures which serue to their vse for letters: these bookes are folden like vnto clothes, and written on both sides. Some of these bookes were made of cotton & glewe, and others were made of leaues of a certaine tre called *Spelt*, whyche serue for theyr paper, a thyng straunge to behold.

Straunge  
Paper.

At that time the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* had many prisoners to sacrifice, *Cortez* demaunded them to send vnto the Emperour, but the *Indians* desired him to pardon them, for if we so do (quoth they) we shall offend our gods, who will take away our coyne and chyldren from vs, yea and also our liues in so doing.

Yet notwithstanding, *Cortez* toke foure of them, and two women which were al yong and lustie.

But it was very strange to see those that shold be sacrificed, how they wer trimmed and deckt with feathers, and went dauncing through the Cittie, asking almes for their sacrifice & death. It was also strange to see the offerings y were giuen the. They had at their eares hanging rings of gold beset with turkie stones, & likewise other rings at their lippes, whiche shewed their teeth bare, a griesely sight to see, but yet esteemed among them a thing beautifull.

Letters from the army and magistrates of  
the new towne directed to the Emperour.

**W**hen this present and siff part was layde aside for the king, *Cortez* required the magistrats to name and appoint two attornyes, to carry the Emperours portion vnto *Spayne*. And that he for his part wold giue

giue vnto them his full power, and letter of attour-  
nepe, with also one of his bestte Shippes for that voy-  
age.

The Counsell of the newe towne chose *Alonso*  
*Fernandez Portocarero*, and *Francisco de Monteio* for that  
iournepe: whereof *Cortez* was verpe glad, and gaue  
them *Antonio de Alominis* for their pilot, with golde  
and plate sufficiente for tourne and retourne of the  
voyage. *Cortez* gaue them instructions, what they  
shoulde doe particularpe for hym, in the Courte of  
Spaine as also in Ciuil, and the towne where he was  
borne. Hee sente to his Father and Mother certaine  
money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sente  
also with them the ordinaunces and actes instituted,  
and wrote by them a large letter to the Emperour,  
in the whiche hee gaue full aduertisements of all  
things whyche hadde passed from the time of his de-  
parture from the Ilande of *Cuba* vntil that day, and of  
the discozd betwæne hym and *James Palsques*, and of  
their greate traueyle and paynes, with the greate  
good will whiche they all bare vnto hys royall ser-  
uice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that coun-  
trepe, with the maiestie and power of *Mutezuma*.  
Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall  
Crown and state of Castil, al that Empire, to winne  
also the greate Citie of *Mexico*, and to bring that  
mightie king *Mutezuma* to his handes quicke or deade.

Beseeching the Emperours maiestie to haue hym in  
remembzaunce when offices and prouisions shoulde bee  
sente vnto that newe Spaynte lately discovered at  
hys great cosses, and in recompence of hys paynes and  
trauell.

The Counsell and magistrates of *Vera Cruz* wrote  
also

also two letters to the Emperour, the one was touching the successe of their proceedings in his royall service. In that letter, went onely the Aldermens firmes, and Judges,

The other letter was firm'd by the generalitie and chiefeest of the army, the contentes whereof was in substance, that they would holde and kepe that towne and cuntry wonne, in his royall name, or ende theyp-<sup>A good protestat<sup>g</sup></sup>nes in the quarrel, if his maiestie did not otherwise determine.

They also moste humblye besought him, that the gouernement thereof, and of al that hereafter shoulde be conquered, might be giuen to *Hernādo Cortez* their guide, generall captaine, and chiefe Justice by them electe and chosen, saying, that wel he had deserued the same, for that he alone spent moze than the whole army vpon that iourney. And that it might please his maiesty to confirm that, which they generally of freewill had done for theyp- owne safegard and securitie, in the name of his royall maiestie.

And if by chaunce his maiestie had already giuen the sayde office of gouernement to any other person, that it might please him to reuoke it.

For so shoulde it be expedient for his seruice, and quietnesse of the cuntry. And thereby might be excused, rumours, standers, perils, and slaughters, that myght ensue, if any other shoulde gouerne and rule as captaine general.

And mozeouer, they besoughte hys maiestie to graunte them aunswere with breuity, and good dispatch of theyp attourneys, who departed from the porte of *Quiahuistlan* in a reasonable shippe the twenty five day of July, Anno. 1519.

D. G.

They



They touched by the way at *Marion* a port of *Cuba*, declaring that they went to *Hawana*: they passed through the chanell of *Bahama* without disturbaunce, and sayled with a prosperous winde, till they arriued in *Spayne*.

The cause why the generaltye had written these letters was, suspecting *James Velasques*, who had friends and great fauour in the Court and counsell of *Indias*, and also some secrete friendes in *Cortez* his campe. For *Francisco Salzedo* brought newes that *James Velasques* had already obteyned a graunt of the Emperoz for the gouernment of that land by the meanes of one *Bonito Martinez* going into *Spayne*. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as that appears in another place.

### An vproare among the souldiers against

*Cortez*, and the punishment for the

same.



Here were some in the host & murmured against the election of *Cortez*, for thereby was excluded *James Velasques*, vnto who they bare good wil.

Some were *Velasques* friends, and other some his kinsfolkes, who letted not to say openly, that *Cortez* by flattery, sutteltie and giftes had gotten and obteyned his purpose.

And that the dissimulation in making him selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accepte that charge and office, was a thing craftily fayned, whereby suche election coulde not bee of anye value, and chieflie without any such authoritie of the *Jerome* friers dauid, who

who ruled and gouerned the *Indians* as chiefe presidents: how muche moze they hadde newes that *James Velasques* had already obteyned the gouernement of that land, and *Tucatan*. Then *Cortez* began to vnderstande in those matters, and made informatiō who had raysed by this rumoure, and being knowen, he apprehended the chieffest, and sent them prisoners aboarde his Ship: and to mollifie their wrath, he shortly released them agayne, the which afterwards was cause of moze mischief, for these his enemies woulde haue fledde with a Tergantine and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the Ilande of *Cuba*, for to aduertise *James Velasques* of the great present sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it shoulde be taken from their attorners passing nere the porte of *Hauana*, with all the letters and relations of their businesse, by cause the Emperoure shoulde not see it, to conceyue well of their proceedings. Then *Cortez* began to be agréued in earnest, and apprehended diuers of them, whose confessions being taken, the matter was manifestly knowen to be true, and therevpon according to the processe, hee condemned those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were *John Escudero*, and *James Cermenio* pilot, and condemned *Gonsalo de Umbria* and *Alonso Penate* to be whipped, and incontinent execution was done, all the rest being pardoned.

Mischeffe.

Tvvo hang-  
ged, and  
tvvo vvhip-  
ped.

With this correction *Cortez* was moze feared, and also esteemed, than before he was, for certainly if he hadde vsed gentlenesse, he shoulde neuer haue tamed them, yea and if he had not loked to them in time, he had bin spoiled: for their pretence was, to haue aduertised *James Velasques*, who would haue prevented them of their Shypps and present, and yet afterwarde he sente a *Caruell* after the sayd Ship, although it were too late.

Dilig.

Cortez

Cortez caused all his Shippes to be

*sunke, and broken vpon the shore, a  
most worthy facte.*



Cortez purposed to goe vnto Mexico, and would not geue his Souldoyers to vnderstand it, by cause they shoulde not refuse the iourney, although the talke of *Tendili*, especially hearing that the Citie of Mexico was situated vpon water, whyche they imagined to be exceeding strong, as in effect it was: and to the intent that they should all follow hym, although against their willes, he determined to spoyle all his Shyppes, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent thoroughly weyed, he little esteemed the losse of his Shippes to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterpryse, for doubtlesse they would haue stayed him, yea and rebelled, if they hadde knowen his minde and pretended purpose. He did secretly accord with one of the Maisters of hys flete in the night season to boze holes in them, that thereby they myghte synke, wythoute any remedie to recouer them againe.

A famous  
facte.

Also he requested the other Maisters and Pylots to publish among the army, that the Shyppes were so rotten and woymeaten, that they were not fytte to goe to sea agayne, and that they shoulde, when they chanced to espye him and many of his Souldiers together, come and certifie him openly of the estate and force of the sayde Shippes, bycause that afterwarde they shoulde not laye any fault to his charge.

According to this instruction, the Pylots and Maisters did accomplish his commaundemente: for shortly after they espyed him among a flocke of his companie, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your naue is  
not



not to make any more voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoyle, rotten, and worne eaten, wherefore according to our duetie, we do certifie you thereof, to provide therein as you shall see cause. All the Souldiers gaue credite to their tale, because the Shippes had but there more than three monethes. And after long talke aboute the matter, Cortez commaunded that they shoulde profite themselves of them the best that they myght, and as for the Hulses, let them sinke or runne a shore, sayning great sorrow for so great a losse, and want of such provision. And in this manner they lette runne a shore fyue of the best Shyppes, sayng theyr Ordinance, vittayles, sayles, Cables, Ankers, ropes, and all other tackle: and shortly after they spoyle other foure vessels, but that was done wyth some difficultie, because they beganne to surmise the intente of Cortez, and beganne openly to saye, that Cortez meant to carrie them to the slaughter house. He then pacified them wyth gentle wordes, saying, what is he that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey: if there be any of you that wyll leaue my companie, hee or they may (if please them) returne to Cuba in a Shyppe that yet remaineth. And this hee spake, to knowe howe many were the cowards, meaning in tyme of neede to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then dyuers shamelesse persons demaunded licence to returne to Cuba, but they were suche as loued no warres. There wer also others that said nothing, who woulde gladly haue returned, sayng the greatenesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise openly.

Cortez knowing his souldyers mindes, commanded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all without hope to goe out of that Countrey at y time, exalting  
and

and praying the noble minde of Cortes shewed in that worthy fate. Certaynely it was a deepe necessary for the present time, and done by the iudgement of a stout Captayne, although he lost much by his Shyppes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are few of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was *O-miez Barbaroza* with the cut arme, who a few yeares past brake seauen Gallies and Foystes, to winne thereby *Bugia*, as largely I do wyte thereof in battayles of y sea in our dayes.

### Hovv the inhabitants of Zempoallan

*brake downe their Idolles.*



Every day seemed long to Cortes, with the desire to see *Mutezuma*. He nowe began to publishe openly his journey and departure, and chose out of the body of his host a hundred and fiftie me, which he thought sufficient to leaue for safegard of the new

towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appoynted *Pedro de Hircio* their Captaine, leaving with them two Horses, and two small peeces of Ordnance, wyth many *Indians* to serue them, and fiftie Townes round about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which Townes they might alwayes haue at their neede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spanyarden towarde *Zempoallan*, whyche mighte be foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the Towne, when newes was broughte hym that foure Shippes of *Francisco Garra* sayled along bys coast, and were in sight of *Vera Cruz*. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundred of his men, suspecting euill of those Shippes. At his comming to *Vera*

*Cruz.*

Nevves  
for Cortez.

*Cruz*, his Captaine there enforzmed him how he had gone himselfe to know what they were, and from whence they came, and what they would, but coulde speake with none of them. *Cortes* beyng inforzmed how they roade at anker, toke Captaine *Hircio* and certaine of his company to expect their commyng ashore, suspectyng them muche, because they roade so farre off, being by signes and tokens willed to come into the Harboꝝ. *Cortes* hauing wandered neare thre miles, mette with thre Spaniardes whiche came from the shippes, the one of them sayde that he was a p̄otary, and the other two were to serue for witnesses in their assayes, whiche was, to ascite and notifie certaine wytyngs, whiche they shewed not: and also to require *Cortes* by vertue of the same, to come and make repartitiō of that countrey with captayne *Garay* their generall, for they sayd Captaine pretended that conquest (as first discoverer of the same,) certifying mozeouer that hee was determined to inhabite twentie leagues distāt from that place Westwarde neare vnto *Nahutlan*, whiche now is called *Armeria*. *Cortes* answered, that they should returne vnto their shippes, and to will they Captayne to come to *Vera Cruz* with his nauie, and there they woulde commune together aboute his comming, and if he stood in neede of any thing it shoulde be provided. And if it were (as they repoꝛted) that he was comen on the Kings affaires, he woulde gladly fauour his proceedings, considering that he and all his were there in seruice of his highnesse, how muche moze beyng all of one nation.

They answered, that in no wise their captaine nor none of his army woulde come ashore, nor yet come where as *Cortes* was. With this answer *Cortes* vnderstood the matter, and layde holde of them, and went and placed himself in ambushe behinde a little hill of sande, whiche stood right ouer agaynst the shippes, beyng neare summe sette, &



leepe there that night till daye approached, and the morning farre spent, hopping that Garay his Pilote or some of his company woulde come ashore, meaning likewise to apprehende them for to be certified what course they had made, and what hurte they had done, and finding them guiltie. to sende them prysoners into Spayne, likewise he desired to knowe whether they had spoken with any vassals of *Mutezuma*, and seying they came not a lande his suspicion was the greater.

A vylle  
practise.

*Cortes* commaunded three of his men to chaunge apparell with the three messengers that came from Garay, and this one, caused them to goe to the Sea side, waing with theyr clokes, and calling for the shippe boate, nowe those of the shippes thought by theyr apparell that they were their owne menne, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then *Cortes* his men whiche were clothed in other mens garments hidde themselves among bushes, as who woulde say, they were gone into the shade, for to flee from the great heate of the Sunne, being at that time highe none, and bicause they should not be knownen.

The Mariners of the skiffe set a lande two men with *Hargabuthes*, and other two men with Crossebowes, and an Indian who went straight way to the bushes, thinking to finde their fellows. Then slept forth *Cortes* and caught them befoze they coulde gette aborde the skiffe, although they meant to haue defended themselves, so that one of them who was a Pilote, hauing his *Hargabuthes* ready charged, & woulde haue shot at captaine *Hircio*, & assuredly if his match and powder had bene good he had slayne him. When the general aborde the ships perceined this deceit, woulde abide no longer, & commaunded to make saile, not farying for his skiffe. By these seuen men taken at two times *Cortes* was satisfied, & also certified how captaine Garay had sayled

sailed along the coast seeking *Florida*, and arrived in a river, the King of that province was called *Sanuco*, where they founde little golde, bartereng aborde their shippes, all they golde passed not three thousande Castellins, but in erchaunge of things of small value, nothing contented *Garay* on that voyage, bycause the quantitie of golde was small and not fine.

With this newes *Cortes* returned to *Zempoallan* with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those *Indians* to pull downe theyr Idols & sepulchres of their *Casike*, whiche they did reverence as Gods, perswading them to worship the God of heauen. And after this doctrine their league of friendship was effectually established, and with other townes adioynning against *Mutezuma*. Those *Indians* gaue vnto him gages to be alwayes faithfull of worde & promise, and offered vnto him as many men fitte for warre & seruice as he would require. *Cortes* receiued the gages which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as *Mamexi Tench*, and *Tamalli*, he tooke also a thousand *Tamemes*, that is to say, men that are carriers, who ordinarily take his burden vpon his backe which is halfe a hundred waight, and those fellows followe the campe with their bagge & baggage: These men serued for horses to draw the ordnance, and to carrie other munition and victuals.

### How Olintec exalted the mightie

power of *Mutezuma*.



*Cortes* departed frō *Zempoallan*, leauing that towne named *Sinilla*, towarde *Mexico* the sixtene day of August of the same yere, with 400. Spaniards and sixtene horses, & sixe peeces of ordnance, and 300. *Indians* to the carriers & me of *Cuba*. And whē *Cortes* departed frō *Zempoallan*

P.ij.



Zempoallan he had not one ballall of *Mutezuma* in his campe to leade them the way towarde *Mexico*, for al were fledde, seing the new league, or els by commaundement of their Lord, and the Indians of Zempoallan knew not well the way.

The first thze dayes iourney the army passed through cuntry of their friendes, and were louingly receyued and lodged, especially in *Xalapan*. The fourth day they came to *Sicuchimatl*, whiche is a strong place situated on a hill side very craggy, and the way to passe therevnto is made with force of mans hande as a steyre. And if the inhabitants thereof would haue resisted the entraunce, with great difficultie bothe footemen & horsemen mought haue entred the towne, but as afterwarde appeared, they were commaunded by *Mutezuma* to lodge them and also to honour them. The rulers of that towne sayde to *Cortes*, that for as muche as he wente to visite their Prince *Mutezuma*, he should assure himselfe that they were and would be his friendes. This towne hath many villages and farmes beneath in the playne, for *Mutezuma* was alwayes prouided there of. 5000. men of warre.

*Cortes* gaue great thanks to the Lord for his curtesie and good entertaynement, muche esteeming the good will of his Lord *Mutezuma*, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer a mountayne very high, the passage whereof he named *Nombre de dios*, bycause it was the first that he had passed, beyng so asperous and highe, that there is none luche in all *Spayne*, for it conteyned directly vpright thze leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trees with hony. And discendyng downe on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called *Theshixuacan*, whiche is a forte and friende to *Mutezuma*, where our army was receyued and entertayned as in the other towne behinde.



And from thence he traueled thre dayes in a countrey inhabitable, and passed some necessitie of hunger, & much moze of thirst, bicause all the water that they founde was saltishe, and many of his men for wante of other dranke thereof, whereof they fell into sickenesse: and sodainely fel a meruaylous Hayle with great colde, whiche increased their griefe, yea and the *Indians* of their company thought there to ende theyr liues, & some of the *Indians* of *Cuba* died there thzough nakednesse, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth iourney of euill way they ascended by an other hill, and vpon the toppe thereof, (to their iudgement) they founde a thousande carte loades of wood ready cut, neare to a little towne of idolles: they named that place the porte of wood: & hauing passed two leagues from the porte of wood, they founde the countrey barren and poze, but some after the army came to a place whiche they named white Castell, bicause the Lordes house was of stone very white and newe, and the beste that they had seene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they meruayled thereat: that towne in their language is called *Zacotan*, and the valley neare vnto it is named *Zacatami*, and the Lordes name is *olintlee*, who receyued *Cortes* honozably, and prouided for him and his company abundantly, being so commaunded by *Mutezuma*, as hee reported afterwarde.

And in token that he had receyued that comission from his Lorde, he commaunded fiftie men to be sacrificed for ioy, whose bloud they sawe newe and freshe. The towne men of that towne caried the Spanyardes on their shoulders, on suche beares as we carry dead men to Church. *Cortes* enformed them (by his enterprizers) of the cause of his comming into that countrey, as he had vsed in other places, & demaunded whether he the Lorde of this towne were tributary to *Mutezuma*. This *Cazike* being amazed

at his question, answered, saying: What is he that is not  
 eyther slaue or vassall to the great *Mutezuma*. Then *Cortes*  
 certified him, who and what the Emperour king of  
 Spayne was, willing him to be his friend and seruitour,  
 & further enquired if he had any golde to sende him some.  
 This *Cazike* answered that he would do nothing without  
 the commaundement of his Lorde, nor yet sende his king  
 any golde although he had inough. *Cortes* dissimuled the  
 matter, and helde his peace, yet by and by he desired to  
 knowe the Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*,  
 the *Cazike* answered, that *Mutezuma* was Lorde of the  
 whole worlde, and that he had thirtie Vassalls who were  
 able to make a. 100000. men of warre: eche one of them he  
 also certified that he sacrificed. 20000. men yerely to his  
 Goddess: And also his dwelling was in the most beauti-  
 fullest and strongest cittie of al that euer was enhabited,  
 likewise (quoth he) his house and courte is moste greate,  
 noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incre-  
 dible, and his charges excessive. And truely therein he  
 sayde the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he  
 somethyng enlarged, although the slaughter of men for sa-  
 crifice in euery temple was very great, yea and some hold  
 opinion, that some yeres were sacrificed aboue. 50000.  
 men. Being in this conuersation, came two Gentilmen of  
 that valley to see the Spanyardes, and eche of them pre-  
 sented vnto *Cortes* foure women slaues, & certayne collers  
 of golde of small price. *Olinslec* although he was vassall  
 to *Mutezuma*, was a greate Lorde, and had. 20000. vas-  
 sals, and thirtie wiues altogether in his house, beside a  
 hundreth other women that attended vpon them. And had  
 for his garde and household. 2000. persons, his towne was  
 great, & had. 12. temples in it, & eche temple many idoles of  
 stone of diuers fashions, befoze whom they sacrificed men,  
 vpones, quayles, & other things w<sup>th</sup> perfumes & great veneration.

ratio. In this place and territorie, *Mutezuma* had 5000. souldiers in garrison, and ordinarie postes from thence to *Mexico*. Untill this time, *Cortez* had not so amply vnderstode the mighte and power of *Mutezuma*, yea and though many inconueniences, difficulties, feare, and such like, did represent it selfe vnto him in his iourney to *Mexico*, whiche perhaps would haue amazed some valiant persons, yet he shewed not one iote of cowardise, haupng hearde suche a repozte of that mightie Prince, but rather his desire was so much the more to see him.

Considering now that he shoulde passe through *Taxcallon* to goe to *Mexico*, being *Taxcallon* a greate & strong Citie, and warlike people, he dispatched four *Zempoallanezes* to the Loydes and Captaynes of that Citie, on the behalfe of *Zempoallan* and his owne, offering vnto them his friendship and fauour, giuing them to vnderstande, that those fewe Christians woulde come vnto their Citie to serue the, desiring the to accept the same, thinking assuredly that those of *Taxcallon* would haue done with him as the *Zempoallanezes* had done, which were both good and faithful, who had alwayes vsed trouth with him, euē so he thought that now he moughte credite them, for they had enformed him, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were their friends, and so would be his, considering that they were vtter enimies to *Mutezuma*, and willingly would goe with him to the siege of *Mexico*, with desire of libertie, and to reuenge olde iniuries and griefes, whiche they had suffered many yeares befoze of the people of *Culhua*. *Cortez* refreshed himselfe in *Zaclocan* five dayes, where is a fresh riuer and quiet folke, pulling downe the Idoles, and placed a remembrance of Christ crucified, as he hadde done in all the Townes that he had passed.

He toke his leaue of *olintec*, leauing him wel pleased, & went to a towin two leagues frō there along y<sup>e</sup> riuer side, where



whereof was Lorde *Iztacmixtitan*, one of the Gentle-  
men who had giuen him the slaues and collers of golde.

This towne standeth in a playne grounde of two lea-  
gues compasse, which is replenished with so many houses  
as doth seeme to touche one an other, in that way that  
our army passed: and the towne it selfe doth contayne fine  
thousande householdes, standing on a hill, and on the one  
side thereof is the Lordes house with a strong forte, be-  
ing the beste yet sene in those parties, walled with good  
stone with barbutan and deepe ditch. Where Cortes re-  
sted himselfe thre dayes, abiding the foure messengers  
whiche he sent from *Zaclotan*, to knowe the answer that  
should be brought.

The first encounter that Cortez had  
with the men of *Tlaxcallan*.



A straunge  
vvaile

Cortes seying the long taryng of the messen-  
gers he departed from *Zaclotan* without  
any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. Our cap-  
tain had not marched much after their depar-  
ture from that place, but they came to  
a great circuite of stone made without lyme or mortar,  
being of a fadome and a half high, and twentie fote brode  
with loupe holes, to shote at: that wall crossed ouer all  
the valley from one mountayne to another, and but one  
onely entraunce or gate, in the whiche the one wall dou-  
bled against the other, and the way there was fourtie  
paces brode, in such sort, that it was an euill and perilous  
passage, if any had bene there to defend it. Cortes demaun-  
ded the cause of that circuite, and who had builde it,  
*Iztacmixtitan* that wente to beare him company, tolde  
him that it was but a deuision from their countrey and  
*Tlaxcallan*, and that their antecessors had made the same  
to

to disturbe the entrance of the *Tlaxcaltecas* in time of iwarre, who came to robbe and murther them, bycause of the friendship betwixte them and *Mutezuma*, whose vassals they were.

That strange and costly wall, seemed a thing of great maiestie to our Spanyardes, and moze superfluous than profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were valiant warriors, who had suche defense made agaynst them. And as Cortes and his army stode beholding thys worke, *Ixtacmixtilian* thought he had bin afrayde to procede forward, and prayed him (for so much as he was his Lordes friend) not to passe that way, nor yet throughe the Countrey of *Tlaxcallan*, for so muche as he wente to visite his maister, for (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my Lordes friende, they will seeke youre displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will prouide you of guides to leade you continually through the dominion of *Mutezuma*, where you shall be well recepyed and prouided, until you come to *Mexico*.

But *Mamexi* and the others of *Zempoallan* willed hym to refuse that offer and counsell in any wise, alleadgyng that it was an onely pretence to separate them from the friendship of that prouince, whose people were good, honozable, and valiant, and that *Ixtacmixtilians* perswasion was to prohibite theyr helpe and succoure agaynst *Mutezuma*, willing hym earnestly to giue no credite vnto hys sayings, for he and his allyes are false Traytors, and meante to byrnyng hym into some snare, where they myghte kill both him and his company, and fede vppon theyr fleshe.

Cortes for a space was amazed at y<sup>e</sup> talke of y<sup>e</sup> one and the other, but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of *Mamexi*, for that he hadde conceived a better opinion of the *Zempoallanexes* his allyed friendes, than of the o-

thers:

A.

thers. And setting all feare asyde, he toke the way to *Tlaxcallan*, bidding *Iztacmixtliā* farewell, and with three hundred Souldyers on a ranke, he entred the way in the wall, and proceeded in good order all the way forwarde, carrying the Ordinance ready charged, and he himselfe the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he would be halfe a league before them, to discover and make the way playne.

And hauing gone the space of three leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his souldiers to make hast, because it was somewhat late, and he with his Horsemen went to descrye the way forwarde, who ascendyng by a hill, two of the foremost horsemen mette with fiftene *Indians* armed with swordes and Targets and tuftes of feathers, whiche they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftene were spyes, and when they sawe the Horsemen, they beganne to flye with feare, or else to geue aduise.

Then approached *Cortez* with other three horsemen, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they would abyde: then fyre Horsemen ranne after them, and ouertooke them, & ioyned all together, with determination rather to dye than to yelde, shewing them signes to stande still: yet the Horsemen comming to lay handes on them, they prepared themselves to battayle, and foughte, sending themselves for a while. In this fyghte the *Indians* slewe two of thes Horses, and as the *spanyarden* doe witnesse, at two blowes they cutte off a Horse head, bydle and all. Then came the rest of the Horsemen, and the army approached, for there were in fyghte nere fye thousande *Indians* in good order, to succoure thes fiftene fyghting menne, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slayne wth the anger that was taken for the kylling of the two Horses,



Hozes, and woulde not render themselves in tyme : yet notwithstanding theyr fellows foughte , untill they chpyed oure armye commyng, and the Ordinance, then they returned, leauyng the fielde to oure menne, but oure Hozsemenne followed them , and slewe a haute 70. persons of them , withoute receyuing anye hurte.

Thys done, the *Indians* sente vnto *Cortes* two of the foure messengers whiche hadde bin sente thither befoze wylth other *Indians*, sayyng, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* knelwe nothyng of the thynges that were happened, certifyinge ykewylse that those with whome hee hadde fought were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, beeyng sorowfull for that whyche hadde passed : and for so muche as it happened in theyr Countrey , they woulde willingly pay for the two Hozses whyche were slayne, praying them to come in good tyme to theyr Towne, who woulde glady receyue them, and enter into theyr league of friendshippe, because they seemed to be valiant menne : but all was a fayned and a false message.

A subtil  
message.

Yet *Cortes* beleued them, and gaue them thanks for theyr curtesie and good will, and that accordyng to theyr request he woulde goe vnto theyr Towne, and accepte their friendshippe. And touchyng the deathe of his Hozses, he required nothyng, for within shorte space he expected many moe : but yet God knoweth how sorowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so muche for the, as that the *Indians* shoulde thinke that Hozses could dye, or be slayne.

*Cortes* proceeded forwarde aboute two leagues where the Hozses were kylled, although it was almost Sunnefeste, and his men wæried, hauing trauelled farre that day.

R. y.

His

His will was, to haue pitched his Camp in a strong place of water : wherefoze he planted his army by a Riuer side, whereas they remayned all that night with good watche both of footemen and horsemen, fearing some assault: but there was no attempt giuen that night, where by they might haue taken better rest, than they were aware of.

### Howv there ioyned a hundred and fiftie

*thousand men against Cortez.*



The next morning at Sunne rising, Cortez departed with his army in good order, and in the midst of them wente the sardage and artillerie, and as sone as they were come to a little Village there nere at hande, they mette with the other two messengers of Zempoallan, who departed from them at Zaclotan: they came with pitifull chære, erclayming of the Captaynes of the polwer of Tlaxcallan, who had bounde them, and deteyned them from returning: but with good fortune, that nighte they hadde broken lose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Victory, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, for a good beginning of their wartes, protesting the like to be done with the berded men, and with as many as came with them.

They had no soner tolde their tale, when there appeared behinde a little hill about a thousande Indians, verye well appoynted after their fashion, and came with such a maruellous noise and crye, as though they voyces shoulde haue pearced the Heauens, hurling at oure menne stones, dartes, and shotte wyth bowes and arrowes.

*Cortez*

Cortes made many tokens of peace vnto them, and by his interpreters desired them to leaue the battell. But so much the more as he entreated for peace, the more haſtie and earnest were they, thinking either to haue overcome them, or else to holde them play, to the entet that the Spaniardes should haue folowed them to a certaine ambuſhe that was prepared for them, of more then 80000. men, whiche they had planted in a crêke of a riuer which abutted vpo the high way. Then our men began to cease from wordes, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that company of a thousande were as many, as on our side were fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very baliât, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the Indians being epyther wearied, or else meanyng to take our men in the snare appointed, began to flie toward the maine battell, not as overcome, but to ioyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter whiche was not little, folloved them with all their sardage, and vnwares fell into the ambuſhe among an infinite number of Indians armed, they stayde not bycause they would not put themselves out of order, and passed thzough their campe with great haſte & feare. The enimies began to sette vpon the hozslemen, thinking to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so skoute: many of the Spaniardes had there perished, had it not bin for the Indian friends. Likewise the courage of Cortes did much animate them, for although he ledde his army making way yet, diuers times, he turned him backe to place his men in order and to comfozte them, and at length came out of that daungerous way into the playne ſielde, where the hozes mought helpe, and the ordinaunce ſtande in ſtêde, whiche two things did greatly annoy the enimie to their great wonder and maruell, and

First batt  
taylor.

50900.mē.

Seconde  
battayle.



at the sight thereof began to flie.

In bothe encounters remayned many *Indians* slayne and wounded, and of the *Spaniards* some were hurt, but none killed, giuyng mosse hartie thankes vnto *God* for their deliuey from so great a multitude of *Indians* their enimies with muche ioye and pleasure of the victoꝝ. Then they wente to pitche their campe in a village called *Teoacazinto*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselues, and buylte cotages of bowes and strawe. The *Indians* of *Zeampoallan*, and those of *Izacmixelitan* did play the valiant men that day, wherefoꝛe *Cortes* honoured them with hartie thankes.

The care  
of good  
souldiers.

This day was the first of September. The night following our men slepte not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enimies, but they came not, foꝛ they neuer vse to fight in the nighte season. And as soone as it was day *Cortes* sente to the Captaynes of *Tlaxcallan*, to requyre them of peace and friendship, willyng them quietly to suffer the passage through their countrey to *Mexico*, foꝛ that they meant them no hurte but rather good will. This done, hee lefte two hundꝛeth *Spaniards* and the Carreirs in the campe. And toke with him other two hundꝛeth, with seuen hundꝛeth *Indians*, and wente with them abrode to skirmishe in the face of their enimies, and at that tyme burned fve oꝛ sixe villages, and returned with foure hundꝛeth pꝛysoners, without recepyng any hurte, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he founde the answer of the Captaynes his enimies, whiche was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare theyꝛ mindes.

*Cortes* was well preuented that night, foꝛ the answer liked him not, but rather seemed bꝛaue, and a matter determined to be done as they had sayde: Iphelwise those whiche were taken pꝛysoners, certified that his enimies

were

were ioyned together to the nūber of a. 150000. mē to giue  
him battaile the next day folowing, & to swallow the aline  
whom so mortally they did hate, thinking the to be frieds  
to *Mutezuma*, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief:  
150000.  
men.

It was mosse true that the *Flaxcaltecas* had gathered  
all their whole power to apprehende the bearded menne,  
and to make of them a moze solemne sacrifice vnto their  
Goddess, than at any time heretofore they had done, with  
a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called Cele-  
stial. The Captaines of *Flaxcallan* deuided their souldiers  
into foure battayles, the one to *Tepeticpac*, another to *O-  
cotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahui-  
zlan*, that is to say, the men of the Spoutaynes, the men  
of the Lynepittes, the men of the Pinetrees, and the wa-  
ter men, euery of these had their Lardes and Captaynes  
whome they shoulde repayze vnto and obey, and all these  
foure sortes of men dothe make the body of the common  
weale and cittie, and also commaunde both in tyme of  
warre and peace. So that euery of these Captaynes had  
his iust portio<sup>n</sup> or number of warriors, but the general of  
all the whole army was called *Xicotencatl*, who was of the  
Lynepits: and he had the standart of the cittie, which is a  
Crane of gold with his wings spred, adozned with Eme-  
rals & silver worke, which standart is according to their  
vse, either caried befoze the whole host or else behinde the  
all. The second Captaine or Lieutenant was *Maxicaz-  
zin*, & the number of the whole army was. 150000. men.  
Such a great number they had ready against. 400. Spa-  
niardes & yet at length ouercome: neuerthelesse after all  
this broyle, they were most greatest friends. These foure  
captains came to their cōpany that the fields where they  
were seamed a forest. They were trimme felowes & well  
armed according to their vse, although they were paynted  
so that their faces shewed like diuels with great tusses of  
feathers,

Indian ar-  
mour.

feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also slinges, staves, speares, swordes, bowes and arrowes, skulles, splintes, gantlettcs all of wood, gilte or else couered with feathers or leather, their corselets were made of cotten wolle, their targettes and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woodde couered with leather, and trimmed with laton and feathers, theyr swordes were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly isyned into the staffe, which woulde cutte very well and make a sore wounde.

The host (as is declared) was divided into foure parts, their instrumentes of warre were hunters hornes, and drummes called attabals made like a caldron and couered with vellam. So that the Spanyardes in all the discovery of India did neuer see a better army togither nor better ordered.

### The threatning of the Indian campe agaynst the Spanyardes.



These Indians were great braggers, and sayde among themselves, what made people are these that threatneth vs and yet knoweth vs not. But if they will be so bolde to invade our countrey without our licence, let vs not sette vpon them so

soone, it is mete they haue a litle rest, for we haue tyme enough to take & binde them, let vs also sende them meate for they are comen with empty stomackes: And againe they shall not say that we do apprehende them with wearinesse and hunger. Wherevpon they sent vnto the Christians three hundred Synnea cockes, and two hundred baskets of bread called Cenli. The whiche present was a great sucker for the nabe that they stode in. And some after (quoth they) now we let vs goe and sette vpon them, for  
by

A present.



by this time they haue eaten their meate, and nowe we will eate them, and so shall they pay vs the viduals that we sent: likewise we wil know if *Mutezuma* commaunded them to come into our countrey, or who else. And if he sente them, then let him come and deliuer them: and if it be their owne enterpryse, they shall receyue theyr reward accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seing so fewe Spaniardes before them, and not knowyng their strength. Then the foure Captaynes sente two thousande of their valiantest men of warre and olde Souldiers, to take the Spaniardes quietly, with commaundement that if they did resist, either to binde them or else to kill them, meanyng not to sette their whole army vpon them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for so great a multitude, to fight agaynst so fewe. The two thousande Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two campes, and came boldly to the Towler where the Christians were. Then came forth the Horsemen, and after them the footemen, and at the first encounter they made the *Indians* feele howe the yron swordes woulde cutte: and at the seconde, they shewed of what force those fewe in number were, of whome a little before they had so iested: But at the thirde brunte they made those lusty Souldiers fly, who were come to apprehende them, for none of them escaped, but onely suche as knewe the passage of the trenches or ditche.

Then the mayne battell and whole army sette forth with a terrible and maruellous noyse, and came so fierce vpon our menne, till they entred into our campe without any resistance, and there were at hande strokes and wrassling with the Spaniardes, and in a good space coulde not gette them out, killyng many of them whiche were so bolde to enter: and in this sorte they fought foure howers, before they coulde make way among  
 A. their

A reckning  
made be-  
fore the  
hoste.

Battayle.

their enemies. And then the *Indians* began to saynt, saynt  
so many dead on theyr side, and the greate woundes they  
had, and that they coulde kill none of the *Christians*: yet  
the battayle ceased not till it dyewe neare night and then  
they retyred. Whereof *Cortes* and his *Souldiers* were ex-  
ceedyng gladd, for they were fully wried with killyng  
of *Indians*, so that all that nighte our men triumphed with  
more ioy than feare, considering that the *Indians* fought  
not by night, they slepte and toke their rest at pleasure,  
whiche they had not done til that tyme, but alwayes kept  
bothe wathe and warde.

The *Indians* finding many of their hoste mistyng, yet  
they would not yelde themselves as ouercome, as after  
did appeare. They coulde not well tell howe many were  
slayne, nor yet our men had leasure to count them.

*Cortes*  
vvas a pain  
full man.

The nexte day in the morning *Cortes* wente forth to  
rinne the fieldes as he had done before, leauing halfe his  
menne to keepe the campe, and bicause he shoulde not be  
espied he departed before day, and burned aboute .x. towne,  
and sacked one towne, whiche was of three thousande  
houses, in the whiche were founde but few folke of sight,  
bycause the moste of them were gone to their campe. Af-  
ter the spoyle, he set fire on the towne and came his way  
to his campe with a great pray by none tyme. The eni-  
mies pursued thinking to take away their pray, and fol-  
lowed them into the camp, where they fought fve houres  
and could not kill one *Spaniarde*, although many of their  
side were slaine: for euen as they were many and stood on  
a thzong together, the ordinaunce made a wonderfull  
spoyle among them, so that they leste off fighting, and the  
victory remayned for our men. The *Indians* thought that  
the *Spanyarden* were inchaunted bycause their arrowes  
coule not hurte them.

The nexte day followyng, the foure Captaynes sente  
three



three feuerall things in present to Cortes, and the messengers that brought them say: Sir behold here five slaues, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans flesh and blood, eate these whiche we bring vnto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and make God, beholde here frankincense and feathers. And if thou be a mortal man, take here soule, bread, & Cherries.

A strange  
presente.

Cortes answered, that both he and his were mortal men euen as they were. And because that alwayes he had vsed to tell them trouth, wherfore did they vse to tell him lies, and lyke wise to flatter him, for he desired to bee their friende, aduising them not to be madde and stubborne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receiue great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant vnto you how many of your side are slayne without the losse of one of mine, and with this answer sent them away. Notwithstanding the answer sent, there came aboute. 30000. of them euen to Cortes his campe to proue their Corselettes, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broke pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of Indians came to combat with our men, & finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not so, but every seueral captaine by himselfe, for to deuide the better the trauayle & paynes equally amoug them: & because that one should not disturbe another through y<sup>e</sup> multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, their battayles were more fresher & stronger, for eche captaine did contend who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, & especially in killiing one Spaniarde, for they thought that all their hurtes shoulde be satisfied with the death of one Spaniarde, or taking one prisoner.

Likewyse is to be considered, the straungenesse of their battayle, for not withstanding their controuersie

all.

all



Indian po<sup>s</sup>  
ble.

all those fiftene dayes that they were there, whether they fought or no. The Indians sente vnto the Spanyardes cakes of breade, Gynnea cockes and Cherries. But this policie was not to giue them that meate for good will, but onely to espie and see what hurte was done amongst them, and also to see what feare or stomacke they had to procede: but the Spanyardes fell not into that reckning, for the espies of *Tlaxcallan* sayde, that none had fought with them but certayne outlawes and knaues called *Otomies*, who lyued as vagaboundes without a Lorde or other ruler: And that they were theues, who had theyr abyding behinde a hill, whiche they poynted vnto with theyr hande.

### Howe Cortez cut off the handes

of fiftie Indian espies.



He nexte day after these presentes were sente vnto them as Goddes, whiche was the firste of September, there came to the Campe fiftie Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, whiche seemed after theyr sorte honest menne, and gaue vnto Cortes bread, cherries, & Gynnea cochs, as they ordinarily vsed to do, enquiring how all his Spaniardes did and what they meant to doe, and whether they stood in necessitie of any thing. And after this communication they went vp and downe the camp, gasing and beholding the horses, armour and artillery, and seemed amased to see such things. But the effect of their coming was the office of espies.

*Teuche* of *Zempoallan* marking these things, who being of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason wherof he was expert and wise, came vnto Cortes, saying, sir it semeth not well, if these *Tlaxcaltecas* wander vp & downe your campe behol

beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to behold likewise the fortitude and weakenesse of your power, I like it not: It may please you to make enquire whether they be elpyes or no. Cortez hauing heard his tale, gaue him hartie thanks for his good aduise, yea and marvelled, that neyther he himselfe, nor none of his Spanyardes had noted the thing, the Indians hauing so many dayes come vnto them after this sort, yea and that only Indian of Zempoallan had considered it.

The good  
aduise of  
a friende.

Nowe the originall cause was not because Teuch was more wise than the Christians, but by reason that hee had seene and heard those Indians commune with the subtleties of *Iztacmiztitan* to feele their mindes, and wpyth craft and subtyltie to obteyne their desire: whereby Cortez vnderstode that those fellows came not to any good purpose: he apprehended that Indian whiche stode next vnto him, and hauing him alone from his fellows, by his interpreters examined him effectually, who incontinent confessed that he was a spy, and that his coming thither was to view the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle and burne their Tentcs: and for so much as they hadde proued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened contrary to their desire, against their ancient fame and glozy which they hadde obteyned by noble exploytes in warres, they now meant to proue their successe by night, hoping of better fortune: and also because their souldiers shoulde not feare the Horses, with the darkenesse of the night, nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swardes, nor yet the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordnance: and that Captayne *Xicotencatl* was alreadye appoynted for that enterpryse, with prouision of many thousand souldiers which lay in ambush in a vale behind certayne hilles, right ouer against their Campe.

Confessiō.

After this confession taken, Cortez full prudently commaundeth,

It is,

maun,

A good  
correction.

maunded to take also the federall confessions of other foure or fyue, who likewise confessed that they were all espies, vppon whose confessions they were al fittie taken prisoners, and iudgemente giuen, that their ene hande should be cut off, which was forthwith executed, and then were returned to their Camp, signifying vnto them that the like iustice should be executed vpon as many espies as they might take. And also they were charged to shew vnto their Generall who had sente them, that both daye and night he would be ready for them.

When the *Tlaxcaltecas* sawe their espies come in thys pickle, they were in a maruellous feare, and it seemed a newe world vnto them: they also beleued that oure men hadde some familiar spirities that did instruct them of their thoughtes, and with feare of cutting off handes, there went no more espies with victuals.

### An embassage that Mutezuma sente

to *Hernando Cortez*.



A carefull  
Captayne.

When these espies were gone, oure men espyed out of our Campe a great multitude of men goe crossing ouer a hill, and it seemed that they were those that the Captayne *Xicotencatl* hadde in ambush: and although it was nere night, *Cortes* determined to followe them, and not to abide their comming, fearing that at the first brunt they mighte set fire among his cotages, as was pretended among them, whiche pretence hauing taken effecte, myght haue bin the destruction of all his men, eyther by the fier or otherwise: wherefore he put all his men in good order, and commaunded the *Horsmen* to decke the brest plates of hys *Horses* with belles, and then proceeded towarde their enemies, who



who durst not abide their comming, hauing intelligence of the cutting of their espyes hands, and likewise hearing the new noyie of belles: yet our men followed them tyll two houres within night, through many sowerne fieldes of *Centli*, and slew many of the, and then returned with victorie to the Campe.

At that season were come sixe noble men from *Mexico*, who brought two hundred seruing men to wayt vpon them. They brought vnto *Cortez* a present, whiche was a hundred garments of cotten, and some of feathers, and a thousand peces of golde.

Ambassage  
from Mutezuma.

These ambassadors on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, declared, that their Lord would be friende with the Emperoure, and also with him, and his company, requestyng to knowe what tribute he would yearely demaunde, in golde, plate, pearles, slaues, or garments, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute he would well and truly pay without delay, wyth such condition, that neyther he nor his company shoulde come vnto *Mexico*. And this request (quoth they) is not only bycause you should bee disturbed to come into his countrey, but chiefly bycause the waye is euill, barren, and full of euill rockes, whyche lette dothe greaue *Mutezuma*, that suche valiant menne as ye be shoulde suffer in his Countrey, lying not in his power to remedie it.

Excuses.

*Cortez* dyd thankefully receiue the present and gentle offer for the Emperoure King of *Castile*, but (quoth hee) my earnest desire is, that you depart not til ye see the end of these warres whyche I haue now in hande, bycause ye shall carrie newes thereof to *Mexico*, what I pretende to doe againste these moztall enemies of *Mutezuma*.

Then *Cortez* fel into an ague, for which cause he went not

not but to skirmish as he was wonte to do, but only provided to make his Camp strong against certaine flockes of *Indians*, whiche came dayly to skirmish, for that was as ordinarie, as the meate that was wont to be broughte to the: but yet these skirmishes no furie of *Indians* were not like to their fierce beginning.

*Cortez* now meaneth to take a purgation for his ague: and toke certayne pilles whiche he broughte with him from *Cuba*, at suche houre of the nighte as is bled for purgations.

It happened that the nexte daye following, before hys purge had wrought, came three great companies of *Indians* to besiege his Camp. It should seeme that those *Indians* had some intelligence of his sicknesse, or else thinking with feare that he durst not come abroade as he was wont to doe.

A valiant  
Captayne.

*Cortez* being aduertised of this newes, withoute anye more respect to his purgation taken, toke his horse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and foughte with his enemies all day till it was nighte, and drave them a good way off, to their great hurt, and then returned to his Camp, and the next day following, he purged as fresh, as though it had bin newly taken. I doe not rehearse this for a miracle, but to declare what he passed: for *Hernando Cortez* was a greate sufferer of travell and paynes, and one of the firste that alway was at any assay or bzunt of enemies, and he was not onely a good man of his handes, but also graue in counsell. And hauing thus purged hym selfe, and taken rest those dayes, he watched euery night that fell to his lotte, as well as any other souldier, and so continually he vsed to do. He was not for this the lesse esteemed, but rather muche the more beloued among hys men.

How

Hovv Correz vvan a great Citie  
called Zimpanzino.



¶ An evening Cortes went by to the toppe  
of his Towre, and looking rounde aboute  
hym, he espyed aboute foure leagues di-  
stant in the Mountaynes among rocks  
and proceeding out of a wodde dyuers  
smokes, whereby he ymagined people to

be there : he opened not his minde to anye man, but com-  
maunded two hundred of his men to followe hym, and  
some *Indians* hys friendes, and within thre or foure  
houres of the nyghte he toke hys iourney towarde the  
Mountaynes, being very darke. He had not fully gone a  
league, when suddaynely appeared the lykenesse of a  
great Bull whiche ouerthrewe them that they could not  
stirre. The firste Horseman being fallen, they aduysed  
Cortez thereof, who aunswered, that he shoulde retorne  
wyth hys Horse to the Campe : and incontinentely fell a-  
nother, Cortez commaunded hym the lyke : and when  
thre or foure were fallen, his company retyred, saying,  
it was an euill token, desiring him to retorne and abyde  
the moorning, that they myghte see whether they wente.  
He aunswered, saying, yee oughte to gyue no credite to  
witchcraftes or fantasies, for God, whose cause we take  
in hande, is aboue all nature: wherefore I will not leaue  
my pretended iourney, for I doe ymagine that of thys  
nyghtes trauell shall come greate ease and pleasure, say-  
ing, that the Deuill hathe in this forme of a Bull appea-  
red, to disturbe vs. He hadde no soner ended his talke,  
when hys Horse fell likewise : then counsell was taken  
what was best to be done:

An euill  
Spirite ap-  
peared.

A courage-  
ous Cap-  
taine.

It was determined that the Horses which were falle,  
Should



should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, each Horseman should leade his Horse by the bzidle, and so proceede on they way, and shortly after the Horses were well agayne, but they neuer knewe of what motion they hadde fallen: wyth the darkenesse of the nyghte they lost they way to the Mountaynes, and chanced into a cragged rockie waye, that they thoughte neuer to haue come out thereof.

And after a while that they had gone this euill waye, wyth their heare standing with very feare, they espyed a little lyghte, and toke the way thither, where they founde a little house, wherein were two Women, and those Women, with other two women that afterwards they mette, conducted them to the Wildernesse, where they had espyed the smoke, and befoze day they sette vpon certayne Villages, and slewe many, yet they burned not those Villages, bycause they should not be perceyued through the lyght thereof. They receyued there aduysle, that nere at hand were great populations, and sone after he came to *Zimpanzino*, a towne of twenty thousand houses, as after dyd appeare by the visitation of Cortes. These inhabitantes beeyng vnaduised of this suddayne happe, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the strettes to knowe what the great mourning and lamentation meante: at the first entrance many were slayne, but bycause they made no resistance, Cortes commaunded to ceasse from kylling, noz yet to take any of they goddes, or women.

A famous  
Cortez.

The feare of these poore inhabitantes was so greate, that they fledde without respect of the father to the child, or husbando to the Wyfe, or yet eyther of house or goddes.

Cortes commaunded sygnes of peace to be made vnto them, and with that they stayed, and befoze the Sunne rising,

rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortez went by into a Tower to descry the Countrey, and there espyed a moste greate population: he then demaunded what it was: aunswere was made that it was called *Tlaxcallan*, and the Tolones therevnto apperteyning. Then he called hys SpanyARDS, and sayd vnto them: beholde, what woulde it haue preyayled vs to kyll these poore soules, hauyng yonder so manye enimies: and wythoute doyng anye more hurte in that Towne, hee wente to a fayre fountayne there at hande, and thither came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred menne wythoute weapon, and broughte wyth them muche vittuall, most humbly they besought Cortez to doe them no more hurte, gyuing hym likewise greate thanks, that hee hadde so fauourablye used them, offering both to serue and obey hym, and from that daye forwarde they woulde not onely keepe hys friendshippe, but also trauell wyth the Loydes of *Tlaxcallan* and others, that they shoulde doe the same. Cortez replied, that sure he was, howe they had foughte agaynst hym before that time, although that nowe they broughte hym meate, yet notwithstanding hee pardoned them, and also receyued them into hys seruice and friendshippe, to the vse of the Emperoure.

Wyth thys communication he departed from them, and returned to the Campe verie ioyfull wyth so good successe, hauyng such a daungerous beginning, wyth the suddayne fall of theyr Horses, wherein the Prouerbe is fulfilled, whyche sayeth, Speake not euill of the daye, till it be at an ende.

They hadde also a greate hope, that those newe frindes woulde bee a meane, to cause the *Tlaxcaltecas* to leaue from Warre, and to become theyr frindes.

S. J.

From

From that day forward he commaunded that none of  
hys Campe shoulde doe any hurte to any *Indian*, and cer-  
tified his men that the same daye his warres were at an  
ende with that prouince.

The desire that some of the Spanyardes  
had to leaue the warres.



When Cortez was returned so ioyfull to  
his Camp, he founde some of his men dis-  
couraged with the sodayne mishappe of  
the Horses, fearing that likewise some  
misfortune hadde happened to Cortes, but  
when they sawe him come well and with  
victorie, their ioy was great, although true it is that ma-  
nye of his men were not well pleased, but desired muche  
to leaue the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they  
had often requested, but notwe chiefly seeing such a great  
Countrey, and full of people, who woulde not permitte  
theyr abiding there, and they being so fewe in number  
in the middelt among them withoute hope of succoure,  
certaynly things to be feared. With this murmurati-  
on they thought it good to talke with Cortes, & also to re-  
quire him to procede no further, but returne backe a-  
gayne to *Vera Cruz*, from whence by little and little they  
mighte haue intelligence with the *Indians*, and therevpon  
proceede according to tyme, and that he mighte pro-  
uide more Horses and men, whiche was the chiefest pro-  
uision of the warre.

Murmur-  
gation.

And although some secretly enformed Cortes of thys  
matter, yet he gaue no eare to their talke, but on a night  
as he came out of hys Tower to overlooke the watche,  
he heard a loude talke out of one of the Cotages,  
and beganne to hearken what theyr communication  
was,



was: and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these wordes: If our Captayne be madde, and go where he may be slayne, let him goe alone, what neede we to follow him. Cortez hearyng this talke, called two of his friendes for witnesse, willing them to harken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake suche wordes would be ready to doe it. Also he hearde others say, what shall our iourney be as *Pedro Carbonerotes* was: who went into *Barbaria* to take *Pozes*, and he and all his were there slayne, wherefore sayde they let vs not follow him but turne in time. It grieved Cortez muche to heare this talke, who would sayne haue corrected them but it was not then tyme, wherefore he determined to leade them with sufferaunce, and spake vnto them as followeth.

**The Oration made by Cortez**

*to his souldiers.*



Differs and louyng friendes, I did chose you for my fellowes, and ye chose me for your captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, & also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the King now Emperour: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as ye haue sene) haue not sayled nor yet displeased ye, nor ye likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I do feele faintnesse in some, yea and an euill will to goe forwarde in the warres whiche we haue in hande: but (God be prayd) if is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstood, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partely you haue sene, but much without comparison of that you haue not sene, whiche is a thing that doth excede the greatnesse of our wordes or thoughts.

*¶.ij.*

*¶ Feare*

feare not my louyng fellowes to goe and abide with me, God forbidde that I should thinke, yea or that any shoulde repoꝛt, that feare bereth my company, or else disobedience to their Captayne, whiche is a perpetuall infamie, if we shoulde leaue this Lande, this Warre, this way already made, and returne as some doe desire, shall we then lyue at rest, loytring as well and losse folke: God forbidde, that euer oure nation shoulde haue suche a name, hauyng warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Dre goe where he shall not helpe to ploughe the grounde: doe ye thinke peradventure that ye shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea: I doe assure you, that in so thynkyng ye seeke after sūe sēte for a Catte, yea and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall meete some euill passage (as the Proverbs sayth) yea and farre worse than this that we haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since we came into this Countrey, we neuer wanted meate, friendes, neyther money nor honour. For now ye see that ye are esteemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Goddes, if it mighte be spoken, for these *Indians* beyng so many and without number, and so armed as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kyll one of vs: and as touchyng theyr weapons, you see that they are not poysoned, as the *Indians* of *Cartagena*, *Veragua*, and the *Caribez* doe vse, whiche haue killed many of our nation therewith, dying as madde menne ragyng.

And if there were no other cause than this onely, you shoulde not seeke others with whome to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre from vs, and neuer Spaniarde trauelled so farre into the mayne lande of *India*, as we haue done: for why: now we leaue the Sea a hundred and fiftie myles behinde vs, nor yet euer  
any

any hath come so neare *Mexico* where *Mutezuma* dothe reside, from whome such messages and Treasure wee haue receyued. It is now but thre score myles thither, and the worlde is passe, as you doe see, if we come thither, as I truste in *Iesus* wee shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne for the Emperoure oure naturall Lord a riche Lande, greate Kingdomes, infinite Vassalles, but likewise for oure selues muche riches, as Golde, Silver, Precious Stones, Pearles, and other commoditie, and besides this, the greatest honour that ever any nation did obtayne. For loke howe great a King this is, howe large his countrey is, and what greate multitude of people he hath, so muche the more is our glory.

Besides all this, wee are bounde as Christians to exalte and enlarge oure Catholyke fayth, as wee haue begonne, abolishing Idolatrie and blasphemie agaynst our Sauour Christe, taking away the bloudy Sacrifice and eatyng of mannes flesh, so horrible and agaynst nature, and many other grievous sinnes so muche here vsed, for the foulness whereof I name them not.

And therefore (I saye) feare you not yet doubt you the victorie, considering that the worlde is passe. Of late wee overcame the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and also an hundred and fiftie thousande this other daye of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who haue the onely name of breakers of Lyons iawes: so with Gods helpe you shal be Conquerors of the reste, if ye saynt not and folowe me.

All hys company was pleased and contente with this comfortable exhortation, and those that were saynt harted reconered strength. And hys valiaunt Souldiers reconered double courage, & those who hated him began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence exceeding



exceeding welbeloued of all his company. But all his former talke was very needefull as time then requyred: for why: some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growen, and he forced to returne to the sea coaste, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

### Hovv Xicotencatl came for Embas

*adour to Cortez his Campe.*



Cortez had not so soone made an ende of his talke, when Xicotencatl came entryng into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captayne in *Tlaxcallan*, & of all the warres: he bzought in his company fiftie persons of auctoritie to keepe him company. They approached neare where Cortes was, and saluted eche other according to the vse of their countrey. Theie salutations ended and the parties setten downe, Xicotencatl began the talke, sayinge Sir I am come on mine owne behalfe and also of my fellow Captaine, and Licutenant *Maxixta*, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state and common weale of *Tlaxcallan*, to beseeche and pray you to admitte vs into your friendshippe, and to yeelde our selues and countrey vnto your King, crauyng also at your hande pardon for our attempt in taking armes agaynst you, wee not knowyng what you were, nor what you sought for in our countrey. And where we presumed to resiste and defende your entrance, we did it as agaynst strangers whome we knewe not, and suche menne as we had neuer here tofore seene: and fearyng also that you had bene friends to *Moteczuma*, who is and alwayes hath bene our mortall enemy. And these things wee suspected, sayng *Moteczuma* his seruants

in your company, or else we imagined that you were comen to vsurpe our libertie, the whiche of tyme with out memory we haue possessed, as our forefathers did with the shedyng of their bloud. And of our owne naturall prouision we wante cotten wolles to clothe vs, wherefore in tyme past we wente as naked as we were borne, but some of vs vsed other clothe to couer our nakednesse, made of the leaues of the tree called *Mel*: and Salte also we wanted, of which two things so necessarie to humane lyfe, *Mutezuma* had greates store, and other our eninies, with whome we are rounde aboute enuironed. And lykelike where we haue no golde stones of value, or any riche thyng to barter with them, of very pure necessitie many times we are forced to sell our owne bodies to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (sayde he) we needed not, if that we woulde be subiectes and vassalles to *Mutezuma*. But yet had we rather all in generall to ende our lyues, than we woulde putte oure selues in suche subiection, for we thynke our selues as balliaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were, who alwayes haue resisted agaynst him and his grandfather, who was as mightie as now he is: we woulde also haue withstode you and your force, but we coulde not, although we proued all our possibilitie by night and day, and found your strength inuincible, and we no lucke agaynst you. Therefore sithence our fate is such, we had rather be subiect vnto you than vnto any others. For we haue knowen and hearde by the *Zeampallanezes*, that you doe no euill, nor came not to here any, but were mosse balliaunt and happie, as they had sene in the warres, beyng in your companie. For whiche consideration, we truste that our libertie shall not be diminished, but rather our owne persons, wyues, and familie better preserved, and our houses and husbandry not destroyed.

destroyed. And in time of all his talke, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, he besought Cortes to woe that *Tlaxcallan* did neuer at any tyme reknowlege any superiour King or Lorde, nor at any time had commen any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily electe and chose as their superiour and ruler.

It can not be tolde, howe muche Cortes reioyced with this Embassage, and to see such a mighty Captayne come vnto his campe to submitte himselfe: and also it was a matter of great wayght to haue that Cittie in subiection, for the enterpryce whiche he had in hande, whereby he fully made an account that the warres were at an ende, to the great cōtentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the *Indians*.

Cortes with a merry and louing countenannce answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had receyued in their countrey, bycause they refused at the firste to harken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his Messengers of *Zeampoallan* sente vnto them from *Zaclotan*. Yet al this notwithstanding, he did both pardon the kylling of his two horses, the assaultyng of him in the highe way, and the greates lies whiche they had moste craftily vsed with hym, (for where as they themselves fought agaynst him, yet they layde the faulte to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, (enticing him to come to their Cittie,) without making firste defiance according to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did louingly receyue their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this sorte departed, saying, that shortly hee would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*, and presently he coulde not goe  
with



with him for the dispatche of the Ambassadors of Mutezuma.

The receyuing and entertaynement

of Cortez in Tlaxcallan.



**T**he grieved muche the Embassadors of Mutezuma, to see Xicotencates in the Spanishe Campe, and the offer made vnto Cortes in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Cittie and godes, aduising Cortes to gyue no credite vnto them, for all

their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the effect to locke you vp in their Cittie.

Cortes answered, that although their aduise were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the towne than in the fildes. They hearyng this answere and determination, besought him to giue vnto ons of them licence to returne vnto Mexico, to aduertise Mutezuma of all that was past, with an answere to their Ambassage, promising within fye dayes to haue newes from Mexico, and till then prayed him not to departe with his Campe.

Cortes graunted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expectyng the answere. In this meane season came many of Tlaxcallan to the camp, some brought Guinea cockes, other brought bread and Cherries, and gaue it for nothyng in comparison, with merry countenaunce, desirying them to goe home with them vnto their houses.

The sixth day the Mexican came, accordyng to promise, and brought vnto Cortes tenne Jewelles of Golde, bothe  
A riche  
present

riche and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and moſte earnestly besought

him

him

him on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, that he shoulde not daunger himseife in trustyng to the wordes of the *Texcaltecas*, who were so poore y<sup>e</sup> with necessitie they would robbe him of the thyngs whiche his mayster had sente him, yea and lykewise murder him, knowyng of the friendshippe betwene his mayster and him: likewise all the chiefeest Lordes of *Tlaxcallan*, came to intreate hym to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan* where he shoulde be che- rished, lodged, and well prouided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche persons to abyde in suche vyle cotages as they were in. And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then we are ready to gyue you for your securitie what soeuer gages you shall demaunde: notwithstanding they dyd bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and fayth of theyr common weale should neuer be broken for all the goodes in the worlde.

Whereupon Cortez seying the good will of so many Gentlemen his newe friends, and lykewise the Indians of *Zeampoallan*, of whome he had good credite, did so importune him and assure him of his goyng, he commaunded his sardage to be laden and also his ordinaunce, and departed towarde *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was fire leagues from that place, with as good order as it had bene to a battayle: And at the Tower where he had pitched hys campe, he lefte certayne Crosses for a memozie, with a greate heape of Cones, and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eighteenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to mete him in the way, that it was a wonder to see.

Entrance  
into Tlax-  
callan.

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many great and fayre lodgings, sufficient for hym and all his companie, except the Indians hys friends which were lodged

lodged in other Temples. He set certayne limittes, out of the whiche he commaunded straightely that none of hys company should passe, vpon payne of deathe, and also commaunded that they shoulde take nothing, but what shoulde be giuen them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a Roanes cast without his licence. The Indian Gentlemen shewed greates pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and provided the of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyr daughters vnto them, in token of true friendshippe, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodyes, to be brought by for the warres, beying such valiant men.

This Countrey lyked well oure men, and the greates loue of the people. They abode there at their pleasure twenty dayes, in whiche time they did procure to knowe particularly the estate of their common weale and secretes, and also were sufficiently instructed of the estate of *Mutezuma*.

### The description of Tlaxcallan.



*Tlaxcallan* is properly in the Indian tong as much to say, as bread well baked, for there is moze grayne called *Centli* gathered, than is in all y<sup>e</sup> prouince round about.

In times past the Citie was called *Tlaxcallan*, that is to say, a balley betwixt two hilles. It is a greates Citie, and planted by a riuer side, whiche springeth out of *Atlancatepec*, and watreth the most parte of that prouince, and from thence issueth out into the South sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Citie hathe foure godly Strētes, whiche are called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocoreulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahuitlan*. The firste Strēte standeth on hygh vpon a hyl, farre from the riuer, whiche maye be aboute

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halfe



halfe a league, and bycause it standeth on a hill, it is called *Tepeticpac*, that is to say, a hyll, and was the firste population which was founded there on high, bycause of the warres.

Another stræte was scituatē on the hill side towarde the Riuer, bycause at the building thereof, there were many pyne trées: they named it *Ocotelulco*, which is to say, a pine apple plot. This stræte was beautifull, and firste inhabited of all the Citie, and there was the chiefest market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called *Tianquiztli*: in that stræte was the dwelling house of *Maxicca*. Along the Riuer side in the playne standeth another stræte called *Tizatlan*; bycause there is muche lyme and chalke. In this stræte dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captayne generall of the common weale. There is another stræte named by reason of the bzackish water, *Quiahuiztlan*, but since the Spanyardes came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plaine by the riuer side, standeth the Towne house, and other offices, as in the Citie of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was gouerned by noble and riche men: they vse not that one alone should rule, but rather fyre from that order, as from *tyrannie*.

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaynes, whiche gouerneth eache one stræte, of the whiche foure, they do elect a Captayne generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are vndercaptaynes, but a small number. In the warres they vse their standerde to be carried behynde the army, but when the battayle is to be fought, they place the standerde where all the hoste may see it, and he that commeth not incontinent to hys auntient, payeth a penaltie. Their standerde hath the two crossebowe arrowes set thereon, whiche they esteeme as

the reliques of their auncestors. Thys stander two olde souldiers and valiant menne, being of the chiefeſt Cap- taynes, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standerde an abusion of southſlaying, eyther of losse or victorie is no- ted. In this order they shote one of these arrowes againſt the ſiſt enimies that they meete, and if with that arrow they doe eyther kill or hurte, it is a token that they shall haue the victorie, and if it neyther kill nor hurt, then they assuredly beleue that they shall lose the field.

This prouince or Lordſhip of *Tlaxcallan*, hath, 28, Mil- lages and toiwnes, wherein is conteyned 15 0000. house- holdes. They are men well made, and good warriours, the lyke are not among the *Indians*. They are very poore, and haue no other riches, but only the grayne or corne called *Cenli*, and with the gayne and profite thereof, they doe both cloth themselves, and paye their tributes, and pro- uide all other necessaries. They haue many market pla- ces, but the greatest and most vsed dayly, standeth in the ſtreete of *Ocotulco*, whiche is so famous, that 30000. per- sons come thither in one day to buy and sell, whyche is to say, changing one thing for another, for they know not what money meaneth.

A strange  
contracta-  
tion.

They sell such things in that market, as here we vse, & al thing vnto them nedeful to eate, and cloth for them- selves, and necessaries for building.

They haue all kinde of good policie in the Citie: there are Goldsmithes, fetherdrellers, Barboys, hotehouses, and potters, who make as good earthen vessel, as is made in *Spayne*. The earth is fat and fruitfull for corne, fruite, and pasture, for among the pine trees groweth so muche grasse, that our men ſcede their cattell there, whiche in *Spayne* they can not do.

Within two leagues of that Citie standeth a rounde hill of ſixe miles of heigth, and ſixe and foztie myles in compasse,

compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmewes hill, where the snow freleth. In times past they called that hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wyne, who was named *Ometochtli*, for the great dronkenesse whiche they vsed. Their chiefest God was called *Camaxtlo*, and by another name *Mixco-uail*, whose Temple stode in the stræte of *Ocotelulco*, in the whiche temple there was sacrificed some yeares a boue eyght hundred persons. In *Tlaxcallan* they spake thre languages, that is to saye, *Nahuatl*, whiche is the courtly spech, and chiefest in all the land of *Mexico*: an oth-  
er is called *Otomir*, which is most commonly vsed in the Villages: There is one onely stræte that spake *Pinome*, which is the grofeste speache. There was also in that Cē-  
tie a common Playe, where fellows lye in prons, and all things which they held for sinne, was there corrected.

Corre. 15.

It chanced at that time a Townesman to steale from a Spanyard a little golde, whereof *Cortes* complayned to *Maxicca*, who incōtinent made such enquire, & the offender was found in *Chololla*, whiche is another Citie fyue leagues from thence: they brought the prisoner with the golde, and deliuered him to *Cortes*, to doe with him hys pleasure: *Cortes* woulde not accepte him, but gaue hym thanks for his diligence: then was he carried wyth a Cryer befoze hym, manifestyng hys offence, and in the Market place vppon a skaffolde they bzake hys ioyntes with a cudgell: our men maruelled to se suche straunge Justice.

The



**The aunsvvere of the Tlaxcaltecas**

*touching the leauing of their Idolles.*



When Cortez saw that these people erected Justice, and liued in Religion after theyr manner, although abhominable and diuulish: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrie and that cruell vanitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holly soeuer he were, would willingly be slayne & eaten, required them to beleue in the most true God of the Chyrstians, who was the maker of Heauen and earth, the giuer of rayne, and creatoz of all things that the earthe produceth only for the vse and profite of mortall man.

*A godly perswasion*

Some of them aunswered, that they woulde gladly do it, onely to pleasure him, but they feared that the commons would arise and stone them. Others sayde, that it was an hard matter to vnbelaue that which their forefathers had so long belaued, and that it shoulde be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselves.

Others sayde, that it mighte be in time they woulde conuert, seeing the order of the Chyrstian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Chyrstians, and likewise percepuing thoroughly the manner and life of the Chyrstians, with their lawes and customs: and as for warlike seates, they were satisfied, & had sene suche tryall, that they helde them for men invincible in that poynte, and that their God did help them.

Cortez promised them, that shortlye he woulde bring them suche men, as shoulde instruct and teache them, and then they shoulde see which way was best, with the greate joy and fruite that they shoulde seele. They accepting

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*that*

that councill which he like a friende had giuen them, and for as much as presently it could not be brought to passe by reason of his iourney to *Mexico*.

He desired them, that the Temple wherein he was lodged, shoulde be made a Church for him and his company, and if it pleased them, they mighte also come to see and heare their diuine seruice.

The *Indians* graunted to his request, and dayly came among them all the tyme of their abode there, and some came and dwelte with the *Spanyardes*, but the chieffest friende was Captayne *Maxicca*, who neuer went from *Cortez*.

### The discord betweene the

*Mexicans and Tlaxcaltecas.*



*Cortez* being thoroughly satisfied of their hartie good wylles, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of *Mutezuma*. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his force. And as they affirmed, it was nere a hundred yeares that they maintained warre with him and his father *Axatata*, and others his Unckles and Grandfathers. And saide also, that the golde and treasure of *Mutezuma*, was without number, and his power and dominion ouer all the lande, and his people innumerable: for (quoth they) he ioyneth sometime two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousande for one battayle. And if it pleased hym, he woulde make as many men double, and thereof they were good witnesse, bycause they had manye times fought with the.

*Maxicca* desired that *Cortez* should not adventure himself into the power of the men of *Culhua*, wherat some of the *Spanyardes* feared and suspected euill of the matter.

*Cortez*

Cortez tolde him, that notwithstanding all those things whiche they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to Mexico, to visit *Mutezuma*, wilhing him to aduise hym what he mought do, or bying to passe for them with *Mutezuma*, for he woulde willingly do it, for the curtesie shewed vnto him, and that he beleued *Mutezuma* woulde graunt him any lawfull request.

Then they besought him to procure for them a licence to haue cotten woll and salte out of his Countrey, for (sayd they) in time of the warres we stode in great neede thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealth of the Comercans verpe dare, in change of golde: for *Mutezuma* had made a straight lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commodities to them shoulde be slayne. Then Cortez enquired the cause of their disorder and euill neyborhood. They answered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the Ambassadors did asseyne, and *Mutezuma* after ward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partye alleadging their causes, they reasons were, that the yong menne of Mexico and Culhua dyd exercise and bying them vpp in warlike seates nere vnto them, and vnder theyr noses, to theyr greate annoyauce, whereas they mought haue gone to *Panuco* and *Teocantepec*, bys frontiers a farre off.

Lykewyle theyr pretence was, to haue warre wyth them beeyng theyr neyghboys, onely to haue of them to sacrifice to their Gods: so that when they would make any solemne feast, then would they send to *Tlaxcallan* for men to sacrifice, with such a great army, that they might take as many as they needed for that peare: for it is most certayne if *Mutezuma* woulde, in one daye hee moughte haue broughte them in subiection, and slayne them all,



all, toyning his whole power in effecte: but his purpose was, to keepe them for a pray to hunt withall, for men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eate, so that he woulde neuer sende but a small armye againste them: whereby it did chance that sometimes those of *Tlaxcallan* did overcome.

Cortez receyued great pleasure to heare these discordes betwixt his newe friendes and *Mutezuma*, whiche was a thing fitte for his purpose, for by that meanes he hoped to bring them all vnder subiection, and therefore he besied the one and the other secretely, to build his pretence vpon a good foundation.

At all this communication there stode by certayne Indians of *Pexcozinc*, whiche had bin against our men in the late warres, the which Towne is a Citie as *Tlaxcallan*, and toynded with them in league of friendship against *Mutezuma*, who oppressed them in like effect of slaughter for their Temples of Mexico, and they also yelded themselues to Cortes for vassals to the Emperoure.

### The solemne receyuing of the

*Spanyarde* into *Chololla*.



The Ambassadors of Cortes seeing the determination of Cortes to proceede on his journey towards Mexico, they besought him to goe by *Chololla*, whiche stode five leagues from thence, certifying that *Chololla* was a Citie in their friendship, and that there he might at his pleasure abide the resolution of their Lord *Mutezuma*, whether it were his pleasure that he should enter into Mexico or no. This request was onely to haue him from thence, for truly it græued much *Mutezuma* of theyr new friendshippe and league, fearing

fearng that thereof woulde some great displeasure hap-  
pen towarde him, and therefore procured all that was  
possible to haue him from thence, sending him alwayes  
presents to allure him to come frō thence the sooner. But  
when the *Tlaxcaltecas* saw that he would goe to *Chololla*, it  
griened them muche, saying vnto Cortes, that *Mutezuma*  
was a liar and fraudulent person, and that *Chololla* was a  
cittie his friende but not constant, and it mighte happen  
that they woulde displease him, haung him within their  
Cittie, wishng him to loke wel to himself. And if needes  
he would goe thither, yet they woulde prouide 20000. men  
to keepe him company,

A gentle  
offer.

The women that were giuen to the Spaniards at  
their firste entraunce, had vnderstandng of a snare that  
was layde to murder them at their commng to *Chololla*,  
by meanes of one of the foure Captaynes, who had a fl-  
ster which discovered the thing to *Pedro de Aluado* who  
kepte hir. Cortes incontinent called that Captayne out  
of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the  
matter kepte close that his death was neuer knowen,  
whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It  
was a wonder that all *Tlaxcallan* had not made an vp-  
rore seing one of their greatest Captaynes dead. There was  
inquicte made of that snare, and the truth being knowen,  
it was approued that *Mutezuma* had prepared 30000.  
souldiers who where in campe for that purpose within  
two leagues of the Citie, and that the streates in *Chololla*  
were stopped vp with timber and raples, and the toppes  
of their houses prouided with stones, whiche houses are  
made with playne crosses or sottes, and the highe way  
stopped vp, & other false bywayes made with deepe holes  
pitched ful of stakes very sharpe, to spoyle and lame both  
hoyle and man: these engines were finely couered with  
sande, and coulde not be espied, although the skoute had

Correction  
of treason.



gone before on foote to discover. The matter also was very suspicious, for these Citizens of *Chololla* had not at any time come to visite hym, or sente any presente vnto him as others had done.

Wherevpon Cortez consulted with the *Texcaltecas* to sende certayne messengers to *Chololla*, to request their Captaynes and rulers to come vnto him, who did their message accordingly, and the *Cholollans* would not come, but yet they sent thre or foure persons to excuse them, saying that they were not well at ease, praying to signifie vnto them what he would haue: the *Texcaltecas* enforced Cortes that those messengers were menne of small credite and of lowe degree, wisshyng hym not to departe till they Captayne came. In this sorte Cortes returned they messengers backe agayne, with commaundement written, declaring that if they came not within thre dayes, he would proclayme them rebelles and his vtter enemies, and as suche would be chasten with all rigour.

When this commaundement came vnto them, the next day followyng came many Lordes and Captaynes to make their excuse, saying, that the *Texcaltecas* were their enemies, and that throughe them they coulde not liue in safetie, lykewise they knelwe of the euill reporte whiche they had made agaynst them: wherefore they besought him to giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both false and cruell menne: beseechyng him also to goe with them to their Citie, and then he shoulde see that all was but a mockery that had bene tolde him, and they his good and faythfull friends: and laste of all they offered to serue him as tributary subiectes.

Cortes commaunded that all this talke should be sette downe in wytyng before the Potary and his interpreters, and so toke his leaue of the Citizens of *Texcallan*. *Maxica* wepte at his departure, but there wente in his

com-



pamy a hundzeth thouſande men of warre: there were a' mong them many Marchantes that wente to barter for Salte and Mantels.

Cortes commaunded that thoſe hundzeth thouſande men ſhould go alwayes by theſelues: that day he reached not to *Chololla*, but abode by a broke ſide, and thither came many of the citie, to deſire him that the *Tlaxcaltecas* ſhould not doe any hurte in their countrey: whereupon Cortes commaunded them to returne backe againe all ſaving, 5000. or there aboute, much againſt their willes. But they ſtil required him to take good hede of thoſe euill folke, who be not (quoth they) men of warre, but pedlers, and men of double harte: and they of their partes would be very loſy to leaue him in any peril or daunger, hauing giuen themſelues to be his true and faithfull friendes.

The nexte day in the morning the Spaniardes came to *Chololla*, and there came out nere 10000. *Indians* to receiue him with their Captaynes in good order: many of them preſented vnto him bread, ſoule, & roſes, and euery Captayne as he approched welcomed Cortes, and then ſtoode aſide that the reſte in order mighte come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizēſ receiued him, marueling to ſee ſuch men & horſes.

After all this came out all the religious menne, as Prieſts, and Miniſters to the idols (who were many and ſtraunge to beholde,) and all were clothed in white lyke vnto ſurplices and hemmed with Cotten threde: ſome brought instrumentes of muſicke like vnto Coznettes, other brought inſtrumētſ made of bones, other an inſtrumēt like a ketel couered with ſkin, ſome brought chaſing diſhes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols couered, and finally they al came ſinging in their language, which was a terrible noyſe, and dyet nere Cortes and his cōpany, ſenſing them with ſweete ſmelles in their ſenſers.

With

With this pompe and solemnitie (whiche truely was great) they brought him into the Cittie, and lodged him in a house where was rounge inough for him and his, and gaue vnto eche of them a Gynea cocke, and his *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Zempoallan* and *Iztacmixelitan*, were prouided by themselves.

### The conspiracie of the Cholollans

to kill Cortes and his men.



And that night following Cortes was vigilant with all his company, for bothe in the way and in the towne they had found some of the things wherof they had bene aduised befoze in *Tlaxcallan*, and although their firste present was a Gynea cocke to eche mans allowance, other thre dayes following they gaue them nothing almost to eate, and very seldome the Captaynes came to visite them, whereof Cortes had great suspicion.

And in this meane while the Embassadors of *Mutezuma* entreated him to leaue of his iourney to *Mexico*, alleging that their great King would die in beholding their beardes & gesture: other times they sayde that there was no passage, other times they would say that they wanted wherewith to sustayne them. And seying them fully and in euery respecte answered to all these popntes, they caused the Tolounes menne to enforme them, that where *Mutezuma* his abiding was, were monstrous *Lions*, *Tigers*, *Lions*, and many other fierce beastes, the whiche when *Mutezuma* commaunded to be losed, were sufficient to plucke in peeces, and to destroy those selue *strangers*: and seying that all these pollicies auayled not, they consulted with the Captaynes and chiefe *Citizens* to

**murder**

murder the Christians. And because they shoulde to  
 bying it to passe, the Embassadors prompted the Ci-  
 tizens greate rewardes on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, and  
 presented to theyr generall a drumme of Golde, and pro-  
 mised to bying the thirtie thousande souldiers whiche lay  
 aboute two leagues from thence: the *Cholollans* promys-  
 sed to deliuer them bounde hande and fote. But yet they  
 woulde not consente that those Soldiers of *Culhua* shoulde  
 come into their Cittie, fearyng that they (vnder colour  
 of friendshippe) woulde remayne with the towne, for  
 why, the *Mexicans* had vled the lyke sleight. And in this  
 sorte they with one bolte meante to kill two byrdes at a  
 shot, for they thought to take the Spaniardes slepyng,  
 and then to remayne with the Towne of *Cholulla*. Also it  
 was determined, that if all these pretences coulde not be  
 brought to passe, that then they shoulde be conducted a con-  
 trary way to *Mexico* vpon the left hande, in the whiche  
 were many dangerous places, because the way was all  
 sandy, with many flures, ditches, and holes of thre fadome  
 deepe, meaning there to mate them and to carry them  
 bounde to *Mutezuma*: this matter being fully agreed, they  
 beganne to take away theyr household stuffe, and to car-  
 ry it with their wines and chyldren vpon the moun-  
 taines.

Many pe-  
 rils.

And our men being also ready to departe from thence  
 for theyr small chere with euill countenance, it hap-  
 ned, an *Indian* woman (being wife to one of the principa-  
 lest Cittizens,) hauing some affection to the bearded men,  
 sayde vnto *Marina*, that she shoulde abide there with hyr,  
 for that she loued hir well, and that it woulde grieue hir  
 that she shoulde be slayne with hir mayster. *Marina* dissi-  
 mulyng the matter, procured to knowe what they were  
 that had conspired the thing, and hauing knowledge ther-  
 of, she ranne to seeke *Aguillar* hir fellow interpreter, and

Helpe from  
 God.

¶

bothe



both together enforme *Cortes* of the whole matter.

*Cortes* hearyng this newes, slepte not, but incontinent examined two of the Citizens, who confessed the thyng even as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: where vpon *Cortes* stayed his iourney two dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disapoynt them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correte their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he had to talke with them, and when they were comen he requyred them neyther to vse lies nor deceptes with hym, but rather lyke menne to desie him to the fiede and battayle, for (quoth he) honest menne vse rather to fighte than to lie. They all answered that they were his friendes and scruitours, and no liars, and that it mighte please him to shewe them when he woulde departe, for they woulde goe armed to keepe hym company. He answered that he woulde departe the nexte day following, and that he requyred but onely some of their slaues to carry his baggage, bycause his owne *Tamemez* or Carriars were wearied: lykewise he requyred some prouision of victuall.

At this laste requeste they smyled, saying among themselves, to what purpose will these men haue victualls, for shortly they themselves shalbe boyled and eaten with the sause called *Axi*, yea, and if *Mutezuma* had not pretended their bodies for his owne dishe, they had bene eaten here befoze this tyme.

The punishment that Cortez executed for conspiracie.



He nexte day in the moynyng the *Cholelans* thinking that they had their determinate purpose in god readinesse, they came and bzought many to carry their sardage, & other some to carry the *Spaniards* vppon their backes, hoping to

apprehed them in the same order. Where came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Likewise that day their Priests sacrificed ten children of thre yeares of age to their God *Quezalcoatl*, five of these children were menne, and the other five women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaynes placed themselues at the foure dozes of Cortes his house with some armed men. Cortes earlye in the moynyng had secretlye in a readinesse the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Tlaxcallan*, and other friends: he commaunded his horsemen to take their horses, giuing them this watche worde, that when they hearde the noyse of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the mē, for it imported all their liues. And he seing the townes men approach nere his lodging, commaunded y captaynes & chiefeest of them to come vnto him, saying, y he would take his leaue of them: there came many, but he would not suffer aboue thirtie persons to come in, who were the principallest, and declared vnto thē, that alwaies he had dealte truly with them, & they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his friēds the *Tlaxcaltecas* shuld not come vnto their towne, & that he fulfilled there in their desire, & also commaunded his owne men in no wise to be hurtful vnto thē, yea & although they had not prouided him of victuals

Overthy  
Cortes.

E.g.

as

as reason did require, yet he would not permit any of his men to take the value of one henne from them, so that in recompence of all his gentle dealings and good will, they had mosse wickedly procured the death of him and all his companie. And bycause they coulde not perforce it in their owne towne, they had prepared the slaughter in the high way, at those dangerous places whiche they had deteruined to leade them vnto, pretending also the helpe of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of *Mutezuma*, whiche army stode not fully two leagues from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse yee shall all die, and in memozy of traytors I will destroy this cittie, and turne the fundations vpwardes, so that there shall remaine no remembraunce of you.

Their offence being manifest, coulde not be denied, and looking one vpon an other, their colours waxed pale and wanne, saying, this man is lyke vnto our Goddes, who knoweth all things, therefore lette vs not denie the truth, and openly before the Embassadors of *Mutezuma* confesse their error and euill fate.

Then sayd Cortes to the Embassadors, you do see that we should haue bene slaine by the *Cholollans*, and through the procurement of *Mutezuma*, but yet I beleue it not, considering that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that Noble men vsed neyther treason nor lyes, wherefore feare not you, but these dissembling Traytors shall be punished, for you are persons inuolable and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offend, bicause he had an assured opinion in *Mutezuma*, to be a vertuous Prince, and one that would not committe villanie.

All these wordes he spake, bycause he would not fall out with *Mutezuma*, untill he sawe himselfe within the Cittie of Mexico.

Inconti-



Incontinent he commaunded some of those Captaynes to be slayne, and kepte the residue bounde. Then he shotte off his handgun, whiche was the watch vnto his armye, who forthwith sette vppon the Townesmen, and within two houres slewe fye thousand persons and moze.

Cortez commaunded that they shoulde kill neyther woman nor childe: they foughte welnere fyue houres: they sette fire on all the houses and Towers that made resistance, and dzaue all the inhabitantes out of the Towne. The dead carcases lay so thicke, that of force they must treade vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priestes, who ascended vnto the high tower of the temple, whiche hath a hundred and twenty steppes, from whence wyth arrowes and stones they did muche hurt, and woulde not yelde, wherevpon oure men set fier to the Tower, and burned them all. Then they exclaymed on their Goddes, who woulde neyther helpe them nor their Citie and holy sanctuary.

The Citie being sacked, oure men toke the spoyle of golde, plate, and feathers, and the *Indians* their friendes toke clothes and salte, which was the treasure that they desired.

Cortez commaunded to cease the spoyle. The other Captaynes that lay bounde, hearing of suche a greate destruction and punishment, most pitifully besought Cortez to loose some of them, for to see what was become of their Gods and comyn people. Likewise they humbly besought him to pardon them, who had not so muche faulte as *Mitexuma*, who perswaded and entised them to that pretended treason.

Vpon their lamentable request, he loosed two of them, and the next day following the Citie was as full of people againe, that there seemed not one to be wanting.

At the sute of the *Flaxcaltecas* who were put for mediators, Cortes pardoned them all, and sette his prisoners at libertie, assuring them that the like correction he woulde do vppon al them that should dissemble or shewe an euil countenance, or make lyes, or finally vse anye kinde of treason toward him: wherevpon they all abode in greate feare. He made the knot of friendship betwene them and the *Flaxcaltecas*, which in time past had bin betwixt them, for *Mutezuma* and his auncetors made them enimies, with fayre promises, words and also feare.

The Citizens hauing their generall sayne, chose an other with licence of Cortes.

The Sanctuary or holy place among  
the Indians was Chololla.



*Chololla* is a city as *Flaxcalan*, and hath but one person who is gouernour and general Captayne, chosen by the consente of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twentie thousande houses, holdes within the walles, and in the suburbes as muche moze. It sheweth outwardes verie beautiful, and full of towres, for there are as manye temples as dayes in y<sup>e</sup> yeare, & euery temple hath his tower. Our men counted foure hundred towres. The men and womē are of god disposition well fauoured, and very wittie.

The women are Goldsmithes and also Caruers, the men are warriors, and light fellows, and good maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled than any other

ther *Indias* yet ſeene. They weare ſoꝝ their bitter garimēt clokes like vnto *Moziscos*, but after an other ſoꝝt. Al the Countrey rounde aboute them is fruitefull and careable grounde, well watered, and ſo full of people, that there is no waſt grounde, in reſpect whereof, there are ſome poꝝre, whiche begge from doze to doze. The *ſpanyardes* hadde not ſeene any beggers in that Countrey befoꝝe they came thither.

*Chololla* is a Citie of moſt deuotion and Religion in all *India*, it is called y<sup>e</sup> Sanctuary oꝝ holy place among y<sup>e</sup> *Indians*, and thither they trauelled from many places ſarre diſtante on pilgrimage, and ſoꝝ this cauſe there were ſo many temples.

Their Cathedꝝall Temple was the beſt and hygheſt of all the new *ſpayne*, with a hundꝝed and twenty ſteppes vnto it.

The greateſt Idoll of all their Gods was called *Quezalcoately*, God of the ayꝝre, who was (ſay they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy lyfe, and great penance. He inſtituted faſting and dꝝawing of bloud out of their eares and tongs, and leſte a pꝝecepte, that they ſhoulde ſacrifice but onely Quayles, Doves, and other ſoule.

He neuer ware but one garmente of Cotten, whyche was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle beſette with certayne redde croſſes.

They haue certayne grēne ſtones whiche were hyꝝ, and thoſe they kēpe ſoꝝ relikes. One of them is lyke an Apes head. Hēre they abode twentꝝe dayes, and in thꝝs meane whyle there came ſo manye to buy and ſell, that it was a wonder to ſe. And one of the things that was to be ſeene in thoſe ſayꝝes, was the earthen veſſell, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The



## The hill called Popocatepec.



Here is a hill eyght leagues from *Chololla*, called *Popocatepec*, whiche is to say, a hill of smoke, for manye tymes it casteth oute smoke and fier. *Cortez* sente thither tenne *Spanyarden*, with manye *Indians*, to carrie their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending by was very troublefome, and full of craggie rockes. They approached so nigh the topppe, that they heard such a terrible noyse which proceeded fro thence, that they durst not goe vnto it, for the ground dyd tremble and shake, and great quantitie of Ashes wherbye disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see straunge things, went by to the topppe, bicause they would not returne with a shewlesse answer, and that they myghte not be accompted cowardes, leauing their fellows behinde them, proceeded forwarde. The *Indians* sayd, what meane these men: for as yet neuer mortall man toke suche a iourney in hande.

These two valiant fellows passed through y<sup>e</sup> desert of Ashes, and at length came vnder a greate smoke verpe thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concauetie, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the whiche the ayre came rebounding, with a greate noyse, very shrill, and whistling, in sozt that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an oven where glasse is made. The smoke and heate was so greate, that they coulde not abide it, and of force were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they wer not gone farre, whē the vulcan began to lash out flames of

of fier, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire: and if they had not chanced to finde a rocke, where vnder they shadowed themselves, vndoubtedlye they had there bin burned.

When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellows, the other *Indians* killed their garments as an honoz due vnto Gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondzed much at their face.

Those simple *Indians* thoughte, that that place was an Purgatory: infernall place, where all suche as gouerned not well, or vsed tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they dyed, and also belæued, that after their purgation, they passed into glozy.

This vulcan is like vnto the vulcan of *Cicilia*, it is high and round, and neuer wanteth snowe about it, and is seene a farre off in the nighte, it latheth out flames of fire.

There is nèere aboute this hyl many Cities, and *Huexozincó* is one of the nighest.

In tenne yeares space this straunge hill of working dyd expell no vapoure or smoke: but in the yeare. 1540. it beganne agayne to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the neyghbours that dwelte foure leagues from thence were terrifyed, for the especiall straunge smokes that then were seene, the like to their predecessors hadde not bin seene.

The ashes that proceeded from thence came to *Huexozincó*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacac*, *Quauhquecholla*, *Chololla*, and *Tlaxcallan*, whiche standeth tenne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fiftene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fieldes of cozne, trees, and clothes that lay a dyping.

Y.

The

The consultation that Mutezuma had,  
concerning the comming of Cortez into Mexico.



Cortez pretended not to fall out with Mutezuma, before his comming to Mexico, and yet he understode all Mutezuma his pretence, wherevpon he complayneth to the Ambassadors, saying that he much marvelled that suche a mightie Prince, who by so many Gentlemen had assured his friendship vnto him, should nowe procure his totall destruction, in not keeping his promise and fidelitie. In consideration whereof, where he meant to visit him as a friend, that nowe he would goe to his Courte as an enimie. The Ambassadors excused their maisters cause, beseeching him to withdraue his furie, and to giue licence to one of them to goe to Mexico, who woulde bring aunswere from thence with all speede.

Cortes graunted vnto the request, the one of them went, and returned agayne within five dayes in company of another messenger that hadde gone thither before, who broughte tenne platters of golde, and a thousande five hundred mantels of cotten, with much victuall, and Cacao whiche is a kinde of fruite that serueth for currant money among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of Cacao and Centli. They enformed Cortes, that Mutezuma was innocente of the conuiration in Chololla, nor by anye meanes priuie to their dealinges, affirming moreouer that the garrison of soldiers did appertaine to Acaxinco, and Acaxan, who were neyghbores to Chololla, who by inducement of some naughty persons, had procured that thing, saying that he should both see and vnderstand him to be his faithfull and louing friend,



friend, praying him to come forwarde on his iourney, for he would abide his comming in *Mexico*.

This ambassage pleased well *Cortez*, but *Mutezuma* feared, when he hearde of the slaughter, and burning of *Chololla*, and sayde to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Prophecie  
of the Di-  
uell,

*Mutezuma* went incontinent to his *Dzatozie*, and shut in himselfe alone, where he abode in fasting and prayer eyght dayes, with sacrifice of many menne, to asslake the fury of his Idolles, who seemed to be offended.

The voyce of the Diuell spake vnto him, bidding him not to feare the Christians, saying they were but fewe, and when they were come, he should doe what he lysted with them, willing him in no wise to ceasse from the bloody sacrifice, least some mischance might happen vnto him. And assured hym that he should haue the Goddess *Pitzipucheli*, and *Tescatlipuca* to preferue and keepe hym. And bycause *Quezalcoatl* was agréued for wante of bloody sacrifice, he permitted the Straungers to punish the of *Chololla*. And *Mutezuma* hearing this dyuelishe *Dzacle*, and likewise *Cortez* having warned him that he would visite hym as an enimie, he was by this perswasion of *Sathan*, the better willing to receyue hym into *Mexico*.

Likewise *Cortez* when he came to *Chololla*, was strong, and hadde at commaundemente a mightie potwer, and there made hymselfe stronger, the same whereof, was blowne abroade, thzoughout all the dominions of *Mutezuma*. And whereas the poore Indians hadde but onely marvelled at their persons and furniture, nowe they began to tremble and to feare at his doings, so that wherefoener he came, they opened him the gates with pure feare, more than for any loue.

*Mutezuma* at the beginning, pretended to feare *Cortez*

P. y.

with

An euill  
counsellor.

with the fearefull passages and other perils and danger, as the fortitude of *Mexico*, with his greate multitude of subiectes, and the great number of Princes that dyd both serue and obey him: and seeyng that all these things profited not, he thoughte to haue ouercome him with gyftes and treasure, knowingg that he hadde required goide: yet he sawe that nothing woulde preuaile, for that Cortez woulde needes come to see hym, wherebpon, he toke counsell of the Diuell what he shoulde doe in that case, vpon which counsell he was satisfied by hys Priests and Captaynes, that he ought not to warre against so fewe straungers, for if he so did, the dishonour would be his, and chiefly, bycause Cortez certified that he was an Ambassadoz, and vsing hym otherwise, it myghte so fall out, that hys owne subiectes would rebell againste him theyr Lozde and Prince, saying likewise that it was manifest that the *Otomies* and *Tlaxcaltecas* woulde fauour his syde, and also manye others, for to destroy and spoyle *Mexico*, vpon which consultation it was openly proclaymed, that his will was that the straungers should enter into *Mexico* freely, thinking that if at anye time they shoulde displease hym, to make a breakefast of them the nexte day.

### Things that happened to Cortez in

his iourney to *Mexico*.



Cortez hauyng so good an aunswere of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as manye of the Indians hys friendes, as liked to departe home to their houses, and he likewise departed from *Chololla* with some borderers that would needes followe hym.

He lesse the way that the *Mexicans* had perswaded him to come, for it was bothe enill and daungerous, as the *Spaniards* whiche went to the vulcan had sene, he went another playner way and moze nearer. That day he traueled but foure leagues, bicause he meant to lodge in the villages of *Huexozinco*, where he was friendly receyued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poze by reason that *Mutezuma* hath enuironed them aboute, bicause they were of the parcialitie of *Texcaltlan*. The next day in the morning he ascended by a hill couered with snowe, which was fivemyles of heighth, where if the 30000. Souldiers had wayted for them, they might easily haue taken them, by reason of the great colde: and from the topp of that hill, they discovered the land of *Mexico*, and the great lake with his villages rounde about, whiche is an excēdyng goodly sight. But when *Cortes* saw that beautiful thing, his ioy was without comparison, and he tooke not so much pleasure, but some of his men feared as much, and there was a murmuratiō among them to returne backe againe, yea and like to haue bene a mutinie among them. But *Cortes* with his wisdom and dissimulation did pacifie the matter, with courage, hope, and gentle wordes, and they seeing that their Captayne at all assayes was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And disending downe into the playn, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his company, with sixe thousande *Indians* of *Texcaltlan*, *Huexozinco*, and *Cholula*. And the seruants of *Mutezuma* made cotages of straw for the *Tamemes* or carriers, who were laded with the fardage, and victuals: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Whither came many principall persons from *Mexico* to visite him, among whome was a kinsman of *Mutezuma*,

Oh wise  
Cortes,



*tezuma*, who presented vnto Cortes the value of three thousand Ducates in gold, & besought him to returne backe againe, and to haue consideration of the pouertie, hunger, & euill way, yea and to passe in litle boates in daunger of drowning. And as for tribute to be giuen to the Emperour, a greater summe should be appointed the though he went personally to *Mexico*, yea and that it should be payde at what place he would appoint. Cortes welcomed them, as reason did require, and presented vnto them haberdashetoyes, which they esteemed in much, & chiefly he did louingly entertayne *Mutezuma* his kinsman, vnto whome he made this answer, saying, I woulde gladly serue & pleasure such a mightie prince as your soueraigne *Mutezuma* is, if it lay in my handes without offence of the King my mayster, and concerning my going to *Mexico*, *Mutezuma* shall receiue both pleasure and honour rather than otherwise, & after I haue talked with him I will sone returne, likewise hunger I feare not, neyther yet doubt that I nor none of mine shall wante, and for my passage on the water, I say it is nothing in comparison of two thousand leagues, which I haue sayled onely to come and visit him.

But yet for all this talke, if they had sounde him carelessse, they would haue pinched him as some doth say, for he gaue them to vnderstand that he nor his men slept not by night, nor yet vnarmed themselves, yea and also if it chanced the to finde in the night season any that were not of their company, they slew them out of had, desiring him to aduise his men thereof, least any of them should happen to fall into that daunger, which would much grieue him, and with this talke they went all to take their rest.

The next day in the morning he proceeded forward and came to *Amaquemecan* which is two leagues from thence, & standeth in the prouince of *Chaleo*, a towne that containeth 20000. householders. The Lord of that towne presented

to Cortes fourtie women slaues, and, 3000. Ducats in gold, with meate abundantly for two dayes, and secretly made complaynt vnto him of *Mutezuma*. And from thence he went to another towne foure leagues from thence, the one half therof was builde vpon the lake, and the other halfe vpon the lande at the fote of a ragged hill. There went in his company many subiectes of *Mutezuma* for puruepers, but yet both they and the townes men would sayne haue layde hand vpon the Spaniardes, and euery night would sende their spies to see what the Christians did, but the watch slew about twentie of them, wher vpon the matter stayed and their pretence toke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they would proue to kill them, and yet they were not for the purpose. The next day in the morning came twelue Lordes from *Mexico*, among whome was *Cacama* brother to *Mutezuma*, who was Lord of *Texcoco* a yong man of. xxv. yeares of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, & when they set him downe one went before with a brome to sweep the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accompany Cortes excusing *Mutezuma*, saying that he was not well at ease & therfore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they entreated Cortes to returne backe againe, & not to come vnto *Mexico*, gyuing him to vnderstand by signes, & they would there displease him, yea & also defend the passage & entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded or else they durst not breake the Calley. Cortes entertayned the like noble men, & gaue vnto the of his haberdashie, & departed from the towne w<sup>th</sup> many graue personages who carried with the a great traine, whiche filled vp the way well nigh as they should passe, looking at their beardes, harneys, apparell, hozles & ordinaunce, saying to themselues, these be Gods. Cortes gaue them warning not to come among the hozles,



nor among his men, for feare they would kil them. This he made them beleue bicause he would not haue his way stopped, for y the number of the was so great. They then came to a towne buylte vpon the water of two thousand houses, and befoze they came thither they had gone more than halfe a league vppon a sayze Calley, whiche was twentie fote brode: the towne had sayze houses and many towers: the Lord of the towne did recepue them worshipfully, and prouided all things plentifully, desirng him to abide there that night, and secretly made complayntes against *Mutezuma*, of many wrongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very sayze to *Mexico*, and al the like calley as he had passed. With this newes *Cortes* was very glad, for he meant to haue stayed there for to haue buylte, barkes and foyltes, & yet he feared least they woulde bzeake the calley, wherefoze he had alwayes a care ouer *Cacama*, who with the other Lordes desired him not to abide there, but to procede forward to *Iztacpalapan*, which was but two leagues off, and that the Lord thereof was another Reruel to *Mutezuma*. To admit their request he wet with them to that towne, and from thence to *Mexico* was but two leagues, the which the next day he might goe at pleasure, and come timely into the Citie, & in this order came to *Iztacpalapan*.

Every two houres came messengers, betwixte *Cortes* and *Mutezuma*: then came *Cuelanac* Lord of that towne, with the Lord *Culhuacan* his kinsman, to recepue him, who presented vnto him, slaues, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousande Ducates in golde. *Cuelanac* recepued al the Spaniards, into his own house, whiche hath very sayze lodgings all of stone and Carpenters worke exceeding well wrought, with high & lowe roumes, with all kinde of seruice: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Cotton, very rich, after their manner.



There were fayre gardē replenisht with many swēte floures, and swēte trēs garnished with networke, made of Canes, and couered with roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry ponde of swēte water. There was an other garden very beautifull of all sortes of fruytes and hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lyme and stone, and was foure hundreth paces square, made with fayre steppes to discende vnto the bottome in many places, and was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of water birds, which somtimes couered pond, as Gullies, Pelices, and such like. *Iztacpallapan* is a towne of. 10000. householps, & is plāted in a lake of salt water, the one half of the towne buylt on the water, & the other on the lande.

### The Solemne pompe vwherevith

*Cortez was receyued into Mexico.*



From *Iztacpallapan* to *Mexico* is two leagues all vpon a fayre calsey, vpon the which eight horseme may passe on rāke, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And who soeuer hath god eiesight might discerne the gates of

*Mexico* from thence. *Coyoacan* is a towne of sire thousande dwellers, *Vizilopuchli* is of siue thousand. These townes are planted in the lake, and are adozned with many temples, whiche haue many fayre towers, that doe beautifie exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatiō of *Salte*, which is made there, and from thence is carried abzode to fayres and markets, whiche thing was a greate rente to *Mutezuma*. Vpon this Calsey are many drawebrydges buylt vpon fayre arches that the water passeth through.

Cortez passed this calsey with. 400. Spaniardes, & 6000. Indians his friends: theyr passage was with much ado, by reason

reason of the great multitude of *Indians* which came to see him, & coming neare the citie, there adioyned another cal-  
 sepy with a broader passage, where standeth a strong bul-  
 wark of stone of the heighth of .ij. fadom, with two towers  
 on eche side, and two gates very strong. Here at this  
 fozte came thye thousande Courtiers and Citizens to re-  
 cepeue him, & euery of them touched the grounde with his  
 right hand and kissed it, and passed for wards in the order  
 as they came. These salutations endured an houre & more.  
 From the bulwark the calsepy lieth directly, and before the  
 entraunce into the Greate there is an other ozaine bzidge  
 made of timber ten paces bzoude, vnder the which the wa-  
 ter passeth to and fro. At this bzidge came *Mutezuma* to  
 recepeue Cortes vnder a Canapie of greene feathers & golde  
 with much argentery hanging thereat, whiche Canapie  
 foure noble men did carry. And the two princes *Charlanac*,  
 and *Cacama* his neuiewes, did leade him by eache arme: all  
 thye we. were riche appareled & al of one fashion, except *Mu-  
 tezuma*, whiche had a payze of shoes of golde besette with  
 pretious stones, and the soles were tied to the vpper part  
 with lachets, as i paynted of the Antikes. His Gentle-  
 men wente by ftwo and two laying downe and taking by  
 mantels and couerlets vpon the ground, because his fete  
 should not touche the same: then folloved him as in pro-  
 cession. 200. noble men barefoted, with garments of a ri-  
 cher liuery then the first thye thousand. *Mutezuma* came  
 in the middell of the Greate, and the others came behinde  
 him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards  
 the grounde, for it was a great offence to loke him in the  
 face. Cortes alighted from his hourse, and according to our  
 vse went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by  
 the armes would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they  
 held it for sin to touch him, but yet saluted ech one p other.  
 Cortes put about *Mutezuma* his necke a collar of *Par-  
 garites*.



garistes, Diamonds, & other stones al of glasse. *Mutezuma* receyued it thankfully, & wente befoze with one of the princes his spewelwes, & comānded the other to lead *Cortes* by the hand next after him in the middelt of the streete: and proceeding forwarde in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest livery to welcome him one by one, touchyng the ground with their handes, & after returned to their standyng. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all y day would not haue serued for salutiōs. The collar of glasse pleased well *Mutezuma*, and bycause he woulde not take without giuyng a better thing as a great prince, he commaunded to be brought two collers of redde ppatones, which there are muche esteemed, and at euery one of them hanged eight shrimpes of gold of excellent workeanship, & of a finger length euery one, he put these collers with his owne hands about *Cortes* his necke, the which was esteemed a most great fauour, yea and the Indians marueled at it. At this time they were come to the streete ende, whiche was almost a mile long, broad, straight and very fayre and full of houses on eche side, in whose doores, windowes and tops was such a multitude of Indians to beholde the strangers, that I knowe not who wondered most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their ordinance & horses, a thing so straunge vnto them. They were brought vnto a great court or house of idols, which was y lodging of *Axaiaca*, at the doze where of *Mutezuma* take *Cortes* by the hande and brought him into a fayre hall, and placed him vpon a riche carpet, sayyng vnto him, Sir nowe are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest & pleasure, for I wil shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiuing of *Hernando Cortes* by *Mutezuma* a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of *Mexico*, the eight day of Nouember, 1519.



The Oration of Mutezuma to  
the Spanyardes.

**T**He house where the Spaniardes were lodged was great and large, with many sayre chambers sufficient for them all: it was nete, cleane matted, and hanged with cloth of Cotten, and feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When *Mutezuma* was departed from *Cortes*, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinaunce at his doze, and hauing all his things in good sorte, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as *Mutezuma* had made an ende of his dinner hearyng that the straungers were rysen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to *Cortes*, salutyng him, and satte downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers iewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garnets of Cotten, both riche, well wouen, & wrought of straunge colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also cōfirme their imagination. This gifte was deliuered honorably, and then began his talkie as foloweth: *Lord* and *Gentlemen*, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valiant men as ye are, for to vse you with courtesie, and entreate you with honour, according to your deserte and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you shoulde not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a greate feare to see you, for your gesture & grimme beards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that yee had such beastes as swallowed men, and that your coming was from heauen, bringing with you lightning, thunder & thūderbolts, wherewith you made the earth to tremble & to shake, and that yee slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do see & know that you are mortall men, & that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue sene your hostes, which

which are but your ſeruauntes, and your Sunnes lyke  
vnto ſhotpynge Trunkes. I do now hold all for fables and  
lyes which hath bin reported of you, and I do alſo accept  
you for my more kinſmen. My father tolde me that hee  
had heard his forefathers ſay, of whome I doe deſcende,  
that they helde opinion holwe they were not naturals of  
thys lande, but come hither by chance, in companie of a  
mighty Lorde, who after a while that they hadde abode  
here, they returned to their native ſoyle: After manye  
yeares erpyzed, they came agayne for thoſe whome they  
had left here behind them, but they would not goe wyth  
them, bycauſe they had here inhabited, and hadde wyues  
and children, and great gouernement in the land. Nowe  
theſe myghtie Lords ſeeing that they were ſo ſtubbozne,  
and woulde not returne with them, departed from them  
foze diſpleaſed, ſaying, that he woulde ſende his children  
that ſhould both rule and gouerne them, in iuſtice, peace,  
and auntient Religion, and for this conſideration, wee  
haue alwayes expected and beleued, that ſuche a people  
ſhould come to rule and gouerne vs, and conſidering from  
whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whome  
we looked for, and the notice which the greate Emperour  
Charles had of vs, who hath now ſent you hither. There-  
fore Lorde and Captayne, be well aſſured, that we wyll  
obey you, if there be no fayned or deceptefull matter in  
your dealings, and will alſo deuide wyth you and your  
all that we haue. And although this which I haue ſayde  
were not only for your vertue, fame, and debes of ba-  
liant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthineſſe  
in the battayles of Tanasco, Teocazimco, and Cholulla, being  
ſo few, to overcome ſo many.

A ſtrange  
opinion.

Now agayne, if ye ymagine that I am a God, and the  
walles and roofes of my houſes, and all my veſſell of ſer-  
uice to be of pure golde, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlax-

Z.ij.

callan,



*callan*, and *Huexotzinco* hath enformed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credit to such fables. You shall also note, that through your commynge hither, manye of my subiectes haue rebelled, and are become my moztall enimies, but yet I purpose to bryake their wings. Come seele you my body, I am of fleshe and bone, a moztal man as others are, and no God, although as a King I doe esteeme my selfe of a greater dignitie and preheminence than others. My houses you do also see, which are of tymber and earthe, and the principallest of *Spains* worke, therefore knowe you do both knowe and see what odious lyars those talebearers were. But troth it is, that golde plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasury of my forefathers a long time preserved, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you & yours shal enioy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are weery of your iourney. *Cortes* with ioyfull countenance humbled himselfe, saying some teares fall from *Mutezuma* his eyes, saying vnto him, vppon the trust I haue hadde in youre clemencie, I insisted to come both to see and talke with your highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath bin tolde me. The like youre highnesse hath hearde reported of vs, assure youre selfe, that the Emperoure King of *Spayne* is your naturall Lorde, whome yet haue expected for, he is the onely heyre from whence youre lynage dothe procede, and as touching the offer of youre highnesse treasure, I do most hartly thanke you.

After all this communication, *Mutezuma* demaunded whether the bearded men whiche came with him, were eyther his vassals or his slaues, bycause he would enterayne each one according to his estate. *Cortes* answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and sel-  
lowes, except some that were his seruantes.

A ioung  
answyere.

Then



Then he departed, and wente home to his Pallace, and there informed himselfe particularlpe who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according therevnto, sent euery one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sente the rewarde by his Controller, and to the Marriners & other scrutores, by a Page of his householde.

### The Maiestie and order, yvherevvith

*Mutezuma was serued,*



*M*tezuma was a man of a small stature and leane, his couloure tawnie as all the Indians are. He hadde long beare on hys heade, five little heares vppon him, as though they hadde bin put in with a bodkin. His thinne bearde was blacke. Hee

was a man of a sayze condition, and a doer of Justice, well spoken, grane and wise, beloued and feared among his subiectes. *Mutezuma* doth signifie sadnesse.

To þ proper names of Kings and Lords, they do adde this sillable *C*. whiche is for cortesie and dignitie, as we vse Lord. The Turke bleseth *Zultan*. The Poye or Barbarian calleth his Lorde *Mulley*, and so the Indians say *Mutezuma Xin*. His people hadde him in such reuerence, that he permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shoes, nor loke him in the face, except very few Princes. He was glad of the conuersation of the *Spanyarden*, and would not suffer them to stande on fote, for the great estimation he had of them, and if he lyked any of the *Spanyarden* garments, he woulde exchange his apparrell for theirs.

He changed his owne apparrell foure times euery day, and he neuer clothed himselfe agayne with the garments whiche he hadde once woene, but all suche were kepte

kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in presents to his seruantes and Ambassadors, and vnto valiante souldyers which had take any enimie prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuilege.

The costly matels wherof had bin diuers sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe.

*Mutezuma* went alwayes very net and fine in hys attire. He bathed him in his hotehouse foure times euery day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hee went to his meate. He eate alwayes alone, but solemnely and with great abundance. His table was a pillowe, or else a couple of coulloured skynnes. His Chayre was a fourefooted stole made of one peece, and hollowe in the middest, well wroughte and paynted. His table clothes, napkins and towels were made of Cotten woll, verpe white and newe, for he was neuer serued but once wyth that naperie. Foure hundred Pages broughte in hys meate, all sonnes of greate Lordes, and placed it vpon a table in his greate Hall. The meate beeyng broughte in, then came *Mutezuma* to beholde the dishes, and appoynted those dishes that liked him best, and chusing dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would eate of any other dish, except the Lord Stewards or Controller should highly commend any other dish. Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wines of the sayjest and best esteemed, or else those that serued weekly by turne, broughte in the bason and elwer, wyth greate humblenesse. This done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drewe a wooden nette before him, bycause none shoulde come nigh his table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also toke them away, for the Pages who broughte in the meate came not nere the table, nor yet spake any word, nor no man else.



While the Lord *Mutezuma* was at his meate, excepte some Jester, they al served him bareheaded. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, five aunciente and noble men, unto whome he vsed to giue of the dish that best lyked him, who receyued the same at his hande with great reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, whiche was the greatest humilitie that they coulde vse before him. He had musike of fiddle, flute, and of a Synayle shell, and a Canapen covered with a skinn, and suche other strange instrumentes. They hadde very euill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crookebackes, and other deformed counterfets, all for maicstie and to laugh at, who hadde their meate in the Hall among the Jestors and Jopots, whiche were fedde with parte of the meate that came from *Mutezuma* hys table, all the rest of the meate was giuen to thre thousand of the Guard, who attended ordinarily in the yarde or court, and therefore they say that there was broughte for his table thre thousande dishes, and as manye pottes of wine, suche as they vse, and that continually the buttre and Pantrey stode open, whiche was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cuppes, were al of earth, whereof the King was serued but once, and so fro meate to meate new. He had likewise his seruice of golde and plate verie riche, but he vsed not to bee serued with it, (they say) because he would not be serued twice therewith, the whiche he thoughte a base thing. Some affirme, that yong childeyn were slayne and dresed in diuers kind of dishes for *Mutezuma* his table, but it was not so, only of mans fleshy sacrificed he fedde noyme and them. The table being taken vp, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerence as they vsed at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other viues, so that then the Gentle-

Aa.

men



men and Pages waited as their course fell.

The footeplayers that played  
before *Mutezuma*.



When his table was taken vp, and his seruitors gone to meate, *Mutezuma* late still: then came in the suiters that hadde any affayres to deale with him, barefoted, for all the persons did vse that reuerence, excepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the Lordes of *Tescuco*, and *Tlacopan*, and a fewe others: and being colde weather, they vsed to weare olde ragged clothes vppon theyr riche garmentes. Al suiters vsed to make thre or foure curtisies, not loking toward his face, and speaking vnto him their heads downewardes, and in that order retyred backe agayne. *Mutezuma* answered his suiters very grauely, with lowe voyce, and in fewe wordes, and not to al suiters, for others his secretaries or counsellors that stode by, answered for him, and hauyng their answers, they returned backwardes, not turning their tayles to the prince. After these businesse done, he vsed some recreation, hearing Iesters or songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to looke vpon the players, who play with their feete, as we doe with oure handes. These haue a cudgell like vnto a pastlers rowler, whiche theyrosse high and lowe, as it were a bal in the ayre, straunge to beholde: They vse other playes to passe the tyme, in such an order, that it seemed marvellous to the lookers on. *Cortez* broughte into spayne some of these players. Also they vse *Matachines*, in suche sorte they do play, that they stand each vppon others shoulders, and he that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime *Mutezuma* did beholde the players, who played at a game called *Pachitzli*,

*colizeli*, whiche is muche like our Tables, and they play with benne, squared like dice, which they call *Patolli*, and throw them out of both their hands vpon a matre, or else vpon the ground, where are made certaine strikes, vpon which they set downe the chance that is throwen: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many tymes they valew theyr owne bodyes, and play that into captiuitie, and to remayne a slave, I meane such as are common gamesters of small estate.

### The Tennis play in Mexico.

**S**ometimes *Mutezuma* went to the Tennis Courte. Their ball is called *Villamalizeli*, and is made of the gumme which commeth from a tree called *Kli*. This tree groweth in a hote Countrey. The gumme being knoed together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat heauie, and very harde for the hande, but yet good and light to rebound, and better than our wind-balles. They play not at chases, but at *bâdie*, or at check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it loseth. They maye strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is alwayes a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke or side, whiche is the finest play: wherefore they vse a skynne vpon eache buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of mantels, or according to the abilitie of the players. Also they play for golde and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodyes, as they vse at *Patolli*, which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court is called *Tlache*, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider upwards, than downewardes, and higher on the sides than at the ends, which is an industrie for their play. The house is alwayes white and smooth in the side walles: they haue certain stones like vnto mylstones, w<sup>th</sup> a little hole in



the middelt. that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball maye passe through, but the that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, whith he fel dome happeneth, winneth the game, and by an aunciente lawe and custome among Tennis players, he ought to haue the clothes of all those that stande and beholde the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garments of them that stande looking on. The winner is then bounde to make certayne sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play woulde saye, that suche a wymer shoulde be a theefe and an adulterer, or else that he shoulde dye quickly.

They bled in the Temple of the Tennis play two Images of the God of the ball, which stode vpon the two lower walles. Their Sacrifice was celebrated at midnight, with many Ceremonies and Witchcraftes, and songs for that purpose. Then came a Prieste from the Cathedrall Church, wyth other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certayne diuelishe prayers, and throwing the ball four tymes in the Tennis Court. In thys order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after thys consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was firste to be done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built.

The owner of the Tennis Courte also woulde neuer suffer any to play, vntill he had first offered something to the Idoll, theyr superstition was so great.

Matezuma broughte the Spanyardes to behold this pastime, and gaue the to vnderstande, y he delgighted much in thys game, and also to see our men play at Cardes and Dice.

The



The number of viues that Mutezuma  
had in his house.

**M**utezuma had many houses as wel in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of al it should be tedious, but where his continual abiding was, he named Tepac, that is to say, Pallace. And that Pallace had twenty doores or gates which had their outcomming into the common streetes.

It hath three courtes, and in the one standeth a fayre fountaine, many halles, and a hundred chambers of twentie three, and thirtie fote long, an hundred bathes & hot houses: and although the building was without nayles, yet very good workmanship.

The walles were made of masons work, and wrought of Marble, Jasper, and other blacke stone, with vaines of redde, like vnto rubies and other stones, whiche glistered very fayre: the Rooffes wer wrought of Tymber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedre, Cipers, & Pyne-tree: the chambers were painted and hong with cloth of cotton, and clothe made of Conneys haire and feathers. The beddes were poze and of no ballew, for they were nothing but Mantels layde vpon mattes, or vpon Hay, or else mattes alone: fewe men lay to night in these houses.

There were a thousande women, and some affirme there were three thousand, accounting gentlewomen, seruants and slaues: the most were noble mens daughters, Mutezuma toke of them for himselfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in marriage to Gentlemen his seruants.

The saying was that he had at one tyme a hundred & fiftie women hys wiues with childe, who through the perswasion of the Demill, toke Medicines to taste they: creatures, bycause they knewe that they shoulde not inherite the state: these hys wiues had many olde women for their Guardes, for no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

The shield of armes that is sette in his pallasce, and likewise carried to the warres, is an Eagle sozving vpon a Tiger hys talents bente as takyng pray. Some thynk it is a Gryphon and not an Eagle. The Gryphons in time paste, say they, did cause the vale of *Anacartan* to be dispeopled, for they were greate deuourers of menne, and that they abiding was in the Mountaynes of *Tecoran*: they approue that these Mountaynes were called *Cuirlach-tepelt*, of *Cuirlachili*, which is a Gryphon bigger than a Lion: but the Spantardes dyd neuer see any of them.

The *Indians* by they: olde Pictures doe paynt those Gryphons to haue a kynde of heare and no feathers, and also affirme, that with they: talandes & teeth they breake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion and the countenaunce of an Eagle: they paynte him with foure feete, and teeth, with a kinde of downe more lyke wolle than feathers, with his beake, talandes and wings.

And in all those things the picture agreeth with our paynting and wytyng, in suche sorte that a Gryphon is no approued naturall foule, nor yet beast. *Plinie* iudgeth this tale of Gryphons to be lies. There are also other Lordes that giue the Gryphon in their armes, flying with a harte in his Talandes.

A house of Foule, vvhiche vvere onely  
preserued for their feathers.



**M**ezuma had another house, with  
very good lodgings and sayre gal-  
laries, buylt vpo pillars of Iaspes,  
whiche extendeth towarde a good-  
ly garden, in the whiche there are  
ten pondes oꝝ moe, some of salte  
water foꝝ sea foule, & other some  
of fresh water foꝝ riuer foule and

lake foule, which pondes are deuised w<sup>th</sup> sluyses to emptie  
& to fill at their pleasure foꝝ the cleannesse of the feathers.  
There is such a number of foule, that scarcely the ponds  
may holde them, and of suche diuerſe kindes bothe in fea-  
thers and making, as sure it was an admiration foꝝ the  
Spaniards to beholde, foꝝ the mosse of them they knew  
not, noꝝ yet had at any tyme ſene the lyke. And to euery  
kynde of foule they gaue ſuche bayte as they were wont  
to fede of in the fieldes oꝝ Riuers. There did belong to  
that house thye hundred persons of ſeruice: ſome were to  
cleaſe the pondes: other ſame did fiſhe foꝝ bayte: other  
ſome ſerued them with meate: other did loſe them and  
trimme theyꝝ feathers: others had care to looke to their  
egges: others to ſette them abꝝode: others cured them  
when they were ſicke: and the pꝛincipalleſt office was  
to plucke the feathers: foꝝ of them was made riche Man-  
tels, Capillarie, Targattes, Tuſſes of feathers, and ma-  
ny other things wyrought with Golde and Siluer: a moſt  
perſite worke.



A house of foule for hayvking and other  
*straunge things.*



Here is another house with large quarters & lodgings, which is called a house for foule, not bycause there are more thū in the other, but bycause they bee bigger and to haue withal, and are foule of rapine, wherfore they are esteemed as more nobler than al the others.

There are in this house many high halles, in the whiche are kept men, women and Childe: in some of them are kept suche as are boyme white of colour, which doth very seldome happen: in other some are dwarfes, crocke backs, burstemen, countersaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they used to despoyme them when they were childe, to sette forth the kings greatnesse: every of these persons were in severall halles by themselves.

In the lower halles were greate Cages made of Tymber: in some of them were Lyons, in other Tygres, in other Owyes, in others Wolues: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie *Moteczuma* might say that hee had such things in his house.

They were fed with their ordinary, as Gynea cockes, Deare, Dogges, and such like.

There was also in other halles great Earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Wipers Crocodylles, whiche they cal *Caymanes*, or *Lizarts* of twenty fote long, wyth suche Scales and head as a Dragon hath: Also other little *Lizarts*, and other venemous beastes and Serpents

Serpentes as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

There were also other Cages for foule of rapyne of all sortes, as Hawkes, Hyghes, Bopters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Haukes. This house of foule had of dayly allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and thye hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sortes of fowles that our men knowe not, which seemed by theyr beake and talents good to Hauke withal.

To the Snakes and other venomous beastes they gaue the bloude of men sacrificed, to fede them, and some saye they gaue vnto them mannes fleshe, whych the greate Lysarts doe eate very well. The Spaniards saw the floure couered with bloud like a tealy in a slaughter house, it stonke horribly.

It was straunge to see the officers in this house howe every one was occupied. Our men tooke greate pleasure in beholding suche straunge thyngs, but they coulde not awaye wyth the roaryng of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Downes & Tigres, when they would haue meate.

Moste certaine, in the nighte season it seemed a Dongeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Deuill, and euen so it was in dede, for neare at hande was a Hall of a hundred & fiftie fote long, and thirtie fote broad, where was a Chappel with the Rose of siluer and gold in lease Wainescotted, and decked with greate stoe of pearle and stone, as Agattes, Cornelins, Emerals, Rubies, and diuerse other sortes, and thys was the Place where *Mutezuma* prayed in the nighte season,

and in that chappell the Diuell did appeare vnto hym, and gaue him answer accordyng to his prayers.

He had other houses lyke vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of fowles, and for mantels whiche proceeded of his rentes and tributes, a thing muche to be seene: vpon the dozes was sette his armes, whiche was a Connie.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his house, as Treasorer, Controller, Recepuers and other officers appertaynyng to the Kings reuenewes. *Mutezuma* had no house wherein was not an oratory for the Deuill, whome they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therefore those houses were great and large.

### The Armory of Mutezuma.



*Mutezuma* had some houses of Armour, vpon the dozes wherof stode a bow and arrowes. In these houses was greate store of all kinde of munition whiche they vse in their wars; as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Dartes, Clubbes, Swoordes and Bucklers, and gallant Targettes more trimme than strong, Skulles and Splintes, but not many, and al made of woodde, gylte or couered with leather. The woodde whereof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very harde and strong, for they vse to toast it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they inclose a litle peece of sainte stone, or a peece of a fishe bone called *Libisa*, and that is venemous, for if any be hurte therewith and the head



head remaine in the wounde, it so festereth, that it is almost incurable.

Theyr swordes are of woodde, and the edge thereof is flint stone, inclosed or ioynd into a staffe, with a certaine kynde of glew whiche is made of a raste called *Zacole* and *Tenxalli*, whiche is a kinde of strong sande, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with blood of Battes or Bearemyce and other soule, which doth glewe maruelous strong, and lightly neuer vncleaueth: of this stuffe they make nayles, pearcers, & ogars, wherewith they bore timber & stone: with theyr swordes they cut speares, yea and a horse necke at a blowe, and make dentes into iron, whiche seemeth a thing vnpossible and incredible. In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, huntynge, and among the kings Guarde,

### The Gardens of Mutezuma.

**B**esides the foresayde houses hee had many others for hys onely recreation and passetyme, with excellent fayre gardens of medicinall hearbes, swete floures, and trees of delectable saucour, whiche were many, and a thing to gyue prayse to God the maker and creator of all.

In that Garden were a thousande personages, made and wrought artificially of leaues and flowers. *Mutezuma* woulde not permitte that in this Garden shoulde be any kynde of potted hearbes, or thyngs to be solde, saying, that it dyd not appertayne to things to haue thyngs of profite among theyr delyses and pleasures, for suche thyngs (sayde hee) dyd appertayne to Merchants.

Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with many and sundry frutes, but they stode farre from the Cittie, and whither seldome times hee wente; he had likewise out of *Mexico* pleasaunte houses in wooddes and forrestes, of greate compasse, enuyroned with water, in the which he hadde fountaynes, riuers, pondes with fishe, warrantes of Conneys, rockes & couert where were Harts, Buckes, Hares, Foxes, Wolues, and such like, with wildernesse for euery sort.

To these places the Lords of *Mexico*, vsed to goe and spoorte themselues, suche and so manye were the houses of *Mutezuma*, wherein selue Kings were equall with him.

### The court and Guard of *Mutezuma.*



He had dayly attending vpon hym in hys pryue garde sixe hundred noble men and gentlemen, and eche of them thre or foure seruants, and some hadde twenty seruants or moe, according to his estate; and in this maner he had thre thousand men attendant in his court, and some affirma more, al the which were fed in his house of the meate that came from his table.

The seruing men alwayes abode belowe in the court all the daye, and wente not from thence tyll after Supper.

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, because the straungers were there, although in effecte of troth it is most certayne, that all the Lordes that are vnder the *Mexicall Empire* (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a hundred thousand men. There are thre thousand Lordes of Townes, who haue many vassals.

These noble menne did abide in *Mexico* certayne tyme of the yeare, in the Court of *Mutezuma*, and could not departe from thence without especiall licence of the Emperoure, leaving each of them a sonne or brother behinde them for securitie of Rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the court of *Mutezuma*.

### The great subiection of the Indians

to their King.

**H**ere is not in all the dominions of *Mutezuma* any subiect that payeth not tribute vnto him. The noblemen paye theiꝝ tribute in personall seruice. The husbandmen called *Maceualtin*, with body & goods. In this sort they are eyther tenants, or else heyres to their possessions. Those which are heyres, do pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring vp, as Dogges, Hernes, Foule, Conyes, Gold, Silver, Stones, Salt, Ware, Honey, Mantels, feathers, Cotten, and a certayne fruite called *Cacao*, that serueth for money, and also to eate. Also all kinde of grayne, and garden Herbes and frutes, whereof they do mainteyne themselves.

The Tenantes doe paye monethly or yearely as they can agree, and because their tribute is greate, they are

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called



called slaues, for when they maye haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a greate fauour. It was repozted that they were tared what they shoulde eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went very poorly clothed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthe pottle, wherein they boyled thei herbes, a couple of Millstones to grinde their Corne, and a matte to lye vppon. They did not onely pay this rente and tribute, but also serued with their bodyes at all times when the great King should commaunde. They were in such great subiectiō to their pynce, that they durst not speake one word, although their daughters shoulde be taken from them to be vsed at their pleasure. It was repozted, that of euerye thre sonnes, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but y report was false, for if it had bin true, the Tolunes had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but only of those whiche were sacrificed, and they were slaues or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and slewe yearely for that bloody sacrifice many menne, and some childezen, but not so many as was repozted. All the aforesayde rentes they brought to *Mexico* vpon thei backs and in boates, I meane so much as was necessary for the prouision of the house and Courte of *Mutezuma*, all the residue was spent among souldyers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other riche Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the whiche was broughte to the treasozy. In *Mexico* was large and greate barnes and houses to receiue and keepe the Corne for prouision of the Citie, with officers and vnderofficers, who did receiue the same, and kepte accompte thereof in bookes of paynted figures. Also in euerye Tolune was a receyuer, who bare in his hand a rodde or a bushe of feathers, and those gaue vp their accomptes in *Mexico*. If any such had

had bin taken with deceypt and falsehode, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a lignage of a Traytoꝝ to his Prince. The Husbandmenne, if they payd not well their tribute, were apprehended foꝝ the same, and if they were founde to be poore thꝛough sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were borne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and slothfull, they should be vsed accordingly: but in conclusion, if they payde it not at a daye appoynted, then they should be sold foꝝ slaues to pay their dette, oꝛ else be sacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, whiche paid a certayne portion, and reknowledged seruice, but this tribute was moze of honoꝝ than profite. In this soꝛt *Mutezuma* had moze than sufficiente to pꝛouide his house & warres, and to heape vp great stoꝛe in his treasury. Moreover, he spent nothing in the buildings of his houses, foꝛ of long time he had certayne towne that payd no other tribute, but only to worke and repayꝛe continually his houses at their owne proper cost, and payde all kind of workemen, carrying vpon their backs, oꝛ drawing in sleddes, stone, lyme, timber, water, and all other necessaries foꝛ the worke. Likewise they were bounde to pꝛouide all the fierwood that should be spent in the Court, whiche was a great thing, and did amount to 230. hundred waight a day, which was fve hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the winter much moze. And foꝛ the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of *Oke tree*, whiche was best esteemed foꝛ the light thereof, foꝛ they were greatesoꝛcers. *Mutezuma* had 100. cities, with their prouinces, of whome he receiued rentes, tributes, & bassalage, where he maintained garrison of souldiers, & had treasozers in each of the. His dominio did extend from the North sea to the South sea, & 600. miles in longitude within the maine laꝛd, although in very deed ther were some towne, as *Tlaxcalla*,

*Mechuacan*,

*Mechuacan*, *Panuco*, and *Teocantepec*, whiche were his enemies, and payde him neyther tribute nor seruice: but yet the ranfome was muche, when any of them were taken.

Also there were other kings and noble men, as of *Texcoco* and *Tlacopan*, which were not in subiection vnto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his owne lignage, vnto whome *Mutezuma* married hys daughters.

### The scituation of Mexico.



*Exico* at the time when *Cortes* entred, was a Citie of sixty thousande houses. The Kings house and other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the others were small and roynish, without eyther doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet

there dwelled in some of them two, thre, yea and fenne persons, by reason whercof, the Citie was wonderfullly replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, euen in the same order as *Venice* is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a greate large lake of water. There is thre sortes of strētes very broad and fayre, the one sorte are onely of water, with many brydges, an other sort of onely earth, and the thirde of earth and water, that is to saye, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for boates to bying prouision of all sorts. These strētes are kepte alwayes cleane, and the moſte parte of the houses haue two doores, the one towarde the calſey, and the other towarde the water, at the whiche they take boate to goe where



where they liſt. And although this Citie is founded vpon water, yet the ſame water is not good to drinke, wherefore there is brought by conduit water from a place called *Chapul-pec*, three miles diſtant from the Citie, which ſpringeth out of a little hill, at the ſote whereof ſtandeth two Statues or covered Images wrought in ſtone, with their Targets and Launces, the one is of *Mutezuma*, and the other of *Axaiaca* his father.

The water is brought from thence in two pyppes or Canalls in greate quantitie, and when the one is ſoule, then all the water is conuayed into the other, til the firſt be made cleane. From this fountayne al the whole Citie is provided, ſo that they goe ſelling the ſame water from ſtræte to ſtræte in little boates, and doe paye a certayne tribute for the ſame.

This Citie is deuided into two ſtrætes, the one was called *Platelulco*, that is to ſay, a little Iland, and the other *Mexico*, where *Mutezuma* his dwelling and courte was, & is to be interpreted a ſpring. This ſtræte is the fayreſt and moſt principall, and bycauſe of the Kings pallace there, the Citie was named *Mexico*, although the old and firſt name of the Citie was *Tenuchtitlan*, whiche doth ſignifie fruite out of ſtone, for the name is compounded of *Tetl*, which is ſtone, and *Nuchili*, which is fruite, called in *Cuba*, *Tunas*. The tree that beareth this fruite, is named *Nopal*, and is nothing almoſt but leaues of a ſote broad and round, and three ynches thicke, ſome more, and ſome leſſe, according to the growth, full of thoznes whiche are venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or pricke ruſſet. After that it is planted, it encreaſeth, growing leafe into leafe, and the ſote thereof commeth to be as the body of a tree, and one leafe dothe not onely produce another at the point, but at the ſides of the ſame leaues proceedeth other leaues: And bycauſe here in *ſpayne* is

of the same trees and fruite, it needeth no further description.

In some prouinces where water is scante, they vie to drynke the iuice of these leaues. The fruite thereof called *Nuchli*, is lyke vnto pygges, and euen so hathe hys little kernels or graynes within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned lyke vnto a peder. There are of them of sundrye coloures, some are greene without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good tast. Others are yellowe, and others white, and some speckled: the best sozt are the white: it is a fruite that will last long.

Some of them tasteth of peares, and other some of Grapes: it is a colde and a fresh fruite, and best esteemed in the beate of Sommer. The *spanyardes* doe moze esteeme them than the *Indians*. The moze the ground is laboured where they growe, the fruite is so muche the better.

There is yet another kinde of this fruite redde, and that is nothing esteemed, although his tast is not euill, but bycause it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his byrne loke like pure blond. Many *spanyardes* at their first comming into *India*, and eating this fruite, were in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the blond in their bodies came out in byrne: yea and manye *Whisitons* at theyr first comming were of the same beliese: so; it hathe hapened, when they haue bin sent so; vnto such as haue eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the byrne, by and by they ministered medicine to Raunch blond: surely a thing to laugh at, to see the *Whisitons* so deceyued. Of this fruite *Nuchli* and *Tel*, which is a stone, is compounded *Tennuchelitan*. When this *Citio* was begonne to be founded, it was placed nere vnto a great stone that stode in the middell of the lake, at the



foote whereof grewe one of these *Nopal* trees, and there-  
fore *Mexico* giueth for armes and deuise the foote of a  
*Nopal* tree springing from a stone, according to the Ci-  
ties name.

Others do affirme, that this Citie hath the name of  
his first founder, called *Tenuch*, beeing the seconde sonne  
of *Ixtacmixcoatl*, whose sonnes and descendentes did first  
inhabite thys lande of *Ananac*, called nowe newe  
Spayne.

Howsoever the opinions are, certayne it is that the  
situation is called *Tenuchtilan*, and the dwellers there  
*Tenuchca Mexico*.

*Mexico* is as much to say, as a spring or fountayne, ac-  
cording to the proprietie of the bowell and speech.

Others doe affirme, that *Mexico* hath his name of a  
more auntiente time, whose first founders were called  
*Mexiti*, for vnto this day the Indian dwellers in one strete  
of this citie are called of *Mexica*. The *Mexiti* toke name  
of their principallest Idoll called *Mexiti*, who was in as  
greate veneration as *Vitzilopuchli*, God of the warre.

*Mexico* is enuironed with swete water, and hath  
three wayes to come vnto it by calley, the one is from  
the West, and that calley is a mile and a halfe long.  
Another from the North, and conteyneth three myles  
in length. Eastwarde the Citie hath no entrie. But  
Southwarde the Calley is fyre myles long, wher-  
e was the waye that *Cortez* entred into the Ci-  
tie.

The lake that *Mexico* is planted in, although it see-  
meth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltishe,  
bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fysh lyueth in  
it. And the other water is wholesome, good and swete,  
and bringeth forth small fishe.

The salte water ebbeth and floweth, according



to the winde that bloweth. The swete water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the euill, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake conteyneth fiftene miles in breadth and fiftene in length, and moze than five and fortie in circuite, and the lake of swete water conteyneth even as muche, in such sort, that the whole lake conteyneth moze than thre tie leagues, and hath about fiftie towneſes ſituated round about it, many of whiche Townes doe conteyne five thousand houſholdes, and ſome tenne thouſande, yea and one Towne called *Texcoco*, is as bigge as *Mexico*. At this lake of water ſpringeth out of a Mountayne that ſtandeth within ſight of *Mexico*. The cauſe that the one part of the lake is blackiſhe or ſaltiſh, is, that the bottome of ground is all ſalte, and of that water greate quantitie of ſalt is dayly made.

In this greate lake are aboue two hundred thouſande little boates, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spanyardeſ* call them *Canooſ*, according to the ſpæche of *Cuba* and *Santo Domingo*, wrought like a kneding trough: ſome are bigger than other ſome, according to the greateneſſe of the body of y<sup>e</sup> treẽ whereof they are made. And where a number two hundred thouſand of theſe boates, I ſpeake of the leaſt, for *Mexico* alone hath aboue fiftie thouſande ordinarily to carrie and bring vnto the Citie victuall, prouiſion, and paſſengers, ſo that on the market day all y<sup>e</sup> Arêtes of water are full of them.

### The Market place of Mexico.



The Market is calloed in the *Indian* tongue *Tlanquiztli*. euery pariſh hath his Market place to buy and ſel in: but *Mexico*, and *Tlaxcaluco* only, which are y<sup>e</sup> chiefſt cities, haue great ſayres and

and places fitte for the same, and especiall<sup>y</sup> *Mexico* hath one place where most dayes in the yeare is buying and selling, but every fourth day is the greate Market ordinarly: and the like custome is vsed throughout the dominions of *Mutezuma*.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with dozes, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Cittie most principall in all that region. Wherefore the resort is frō farre parties vnto that place. Every occupatio<sup>n</sup> and kinde of Marchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occup<sup>y</sup> or disturbe. Likewise precious wares haue their place accordinglye, (that is to say) Stone, timber, lyme, bricke, and all kinde of stufte wrought, being necessarie to buylde withall. Also mattes both fine and course of sundry workmanship, also coles, woodde, and all sortes of Earthen vessell glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinn<sup>e</sup>s both rawe and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for shomahers, for bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lyn<sup>g</sup> of wooden Cozlelets: also skinn<sup>e</sup>s of other beastes and foule in feathers ready dyed of all sortes, the colours and fraungnesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest Marchandise was salte, and mantels of Cotten wolle of diuers colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapissarie to hang houses, other cotten clothe for linnen breeches, shirtes, table clothes, towels, napkins, and suche like things.

There were also Mantels made of the leaues of the tree called *Mel*, and of Palme tree, & Cornie beare, which are wel esteemed, being very warm, but Couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threede made of Cornie beare, peeces of linnen clothe made of cotten wolle, also



Skaynes of threede of all colours; also it is straunge to see  
 the great store of poultrie that is brought to that mar-  
 ket, and although they eate the fleshe of the foule, yet the  
 feathers serue for clothing, mixing one sorte with ano-  
 ther. There are of these foule so many sortes and severall  
 colours, that I can not number them: some wilde, some  
 tame, some water foule, and other some of rapine. All the  
 bzaury of the market, is the place where golde and sea-  
 thers isoyntly wrought is solde, for any thyng that is in  
 request is there liuely wrought in golde and feathers and  
 gallant colours. The *Indians* are so expert and perfite in  
 this science, that they will worke or make a Butter flie,  
 any wilde beaste, trees, roses, floures, hearbes, rootes or a-  
 ny other thyng so liuely, that it is a thyng marvelous to  
 behold. It hapneth many tymes that one of these worke-  
 men in a whole day will eate nothyng, onely to place one  
 feather in his dew perfection, turning and tossing the sea-  
 ther to the lighte of the Sunne, into the shade or darke  
 place, to see where is his moste naturall perfection, and  
 till his worke be finished he will neyther eate nor drinke.  
 There are few nations of so muche shame or sufferance.  
 The Arte or Science of Goldsmiths among them is the  
 moste curious, and very good workmanship engraver  
 with toles made of flinte, or in moulde. They will caste a  
 platter in moulde with eight corners, and euery corner of  
 severall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the o-  
 ther of siluer, without any kinde of solder: they will also  
 founde or cast a litle canyzen with lose handles hangyng  
 thereat, as we vse to caste a Bell: they will also caste in  
 mould a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back  
 and another of gold: they will make a Parret or Poppin-  
 gay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head  
 move, & his wings flutter: they will caste an Ape in mold,  
 that both hands & fete shall stirre, & holde a spindle in his  
 hande



hande seeming to spine, yea and an apple in his hande as though he would eate it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the sight of these things, for our Goldsmithes are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skill also of Amell worke, and to sette any pretious stone. But now as touching the markette, there is to sell Golde, Siluer, Copper, Leadde, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the thre laste mettals mentioned. There are Pearles, Pretious stones, diuers and sundry sortes of Shelles, and Bones, Sponges, and other pedlers ware, whiche certainly are many and straunge sortes, yea and a thing to laughe at their Haberdashe toys and trifles. There are also many kinde of hearbes, rootes, and seedes, as well to be eaten as for Medicine, for bothe men, women and chyldren haue great knowledge in hearbes, for though pouertie and necessitie, they seke them for theyr sustenance and helpe of theyr infirmities and diseases. They spende little among Physitions, although there are some of that Arte, and many Poticaries, who doe bying into the markette, oyntments, Siroppes, waters, and other drugges fitte for sicke Persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbes, yea as much as for to kill ylse they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The seuerall kyndes of meates to be solde is without number, as Snakes without head & tayle, little Dogges gelte, Moules, Rattes, Long wormes, Lysle, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yere they haue pettes of mayle with the which they rake vp a certayne duste that is bredde vpon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is knedded together like vnto oas of the sea: they gather much of this virtuell, & kepe it in heapes, & make therof cakes like vnto hzykebats: they sell not only this ware in y<sup>e</sup> market, but also send it abroad to other sayres & markets a far off: they eat this meate w<sup>th</sup> as good stomake

as we eate chiese, yea and they holde opinion that this skūme or fatnesse of the water, is y cause that such great number of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Connies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, whiche they bring vp for the purpose, and take in huntynge. There are a great number of shoppes that sell all kinde of oxfall and tripes. It is a wonder to see how so much meate ready dressed coulde be spent. There is also fleshe and fishe roasted, boyled and baked, Pies and Custardes made of diuers sortes of egges, the great quantitie of bread is without number. Also corne of all sortes threshed and unthreshed. The greate store of sundry kyndes of fruytes is marvellous whiche are there solde, bothe greene and ripe: there is one sorte as bigge as Almondes called *Cacao*, whiche is bothe meate and currant money. There are diuers kind of colours to be solde, whiche they make of Roses, floures, fruites, barks of trees, and other things very excellent: they sell there Honie of sundry kindes, oyle of *Chian*, made of a seede like unto mustard seede, and oynting any paynted clothe therewith, the water can not hurte it, they also dresse therewith their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. They sundry sortes of wines shalbe declared in an other place: it woulde be a prodigious thing to rehearse all the things that are to be solde in that markette. There are in this sayre many Artificers, as Packers, Barbars, Cutlers, & many others, although it was thought that among these *Indians* were none such. All the things recited, and many others which I speake not of, are solde in euery market of *Mexico*, all the sellers paye a certaine summe for theyr shops or standings to the King, as a custome, & they to be preserved and defended from theues: and for that cause there



there goe certayne Sergeants or officers by & do wone the market to espie out malefactours. In the middelt of the market standeth a house whiche may be sene throughtout the sayze, & there sitteth twelue auncient men for iudges to dispatch laue matters: their buying and selling is to chaunge one ware for another, as thus, one giueth a hen for a bundell of Maiz, other giue mantels for salte, or money whiche is *Cacao*, and this is theyr order to choppe and chaunge: they haue measure and strike for all kynde of corne, and other earthen measures for Hony and Wine, and if any measure be falsified, they punish the offenders and bpeake their measures.

### The great Temple of Mexico.

**T**he Temple is called *Tencalli*, that is to say, Gods house, *Tenul* signifieth God, & *Calli* is a house, a house well very fitte, if that house had bene of the true God. The Spaniards that vnderstand not the language, do pronounce and call those Temples *Cues*, and the God *Fitzilopuchli*, *Ychilobos*. There are in *Mexico* many parishe churches, with towres, wherein are chappels and Altares where the images & idols do stande, & those chappels do serue for burial places of their founders, and the Parishioners are buried in the Churchparde. All their temples are of one fashion, therefore it shal be now sufficient to speake of the cathedral church. And euen as those temples are al in generall of one making in that citie. I doe beleue that the lyke was neuer sene nor heard off. This temple is square, & doth containe euery way as much ground as a crossebow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dozes that abutteth vpon the thre calles, and vpon an other parte of the Citie, that hath no calsey but a sayze streate.

Do.

In



In the midst of this Quabern standeth a mount of earth and stone square lyke wise, and fiftie fadom long every way, buylte upward like vnto a pyramide of Egypt, sayng the toppe is not sharpe, but playne and flatte, and tenne fadom square: vpon the weast side, were stappes by to the toppe, in number an hundred and fourtene, whiche beyng so many, high, and made of good stone dyd seeme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to behold the Priestes, some goyng vp, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppe of this Temple are two great Alters, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or by imne of the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behind them at pleasure. The one Alter standeth on the right hande, & the other on the left, they were but of fise fote high, eche of them had the backe part made of stone, paynted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was saye & well wrought of Masons worke & timber, euery Chappell had thre loftes one aboue another, sustented vpon pillars, & with þ height thereof it shewed like vnto a saye tower, and beautified the Cittie a farre of: from thence a man mought see all the cittie and townes rounde aboute the lake, whiche was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And by cause Cortes & his company should see the beautie thereof, *Mutezuma* brought him thither, and shewed hym all the order of the Temple, euen from the fote to the toppe. There was a certaine plot or space for the idoll priestes to celebrat their seruice without disturbance of any. Their general prayers were made toward þ rising of the sunne. Vpon ech alter standeth a great idoll. Beside this tower that standeth vpon the pyramide, there are fourtie towers great & small belonging to other little temples which stand in the same circuite, the which although they were of the same making, yet they prospect was not westwarde, but other.

otherwayes, bicause there should be a difference betwixte the great temple & them. Some of these Temples were bigger than others, and euery one of a seuerall God, among the whiche there was one rounde temple dedicated to the God of the ayre called *Quecalcouatl*, for euen as the ayre goeth rounde about the heauens, euen for that consideration they made his temple rounde. The entraunce of that Temple had a doze made lyke vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was paynted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great teeth & gummes wzought, whiche was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, & especially the Chyistians vnto whom it represented very Hel with that ougly face and monstrous teeth.

A strange  
dore.

There were other *Tenacalles* in the citie, that had the ascending by by steps in thze places: all these temples had houses by theselues with all seruice & priests & particular Gods. At euery doze of the great temple standeth a large Hall & goodly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were comon armozies for the Citie, for the force and strength of euery towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their storehouse of munition. They had other darke houses full of idols, greate & small, wzought of sundry mettals, they are all bathed and washed with bloud, and do thewe very blacke thzough they dayly sprinklyng and anoynting the with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea & the walles are an inche thicke with bloud, and the ground is a fote thicke of bloud, so that there is a diuelish stench. The Priests or Ministers goe daylye into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea and when any such goeth in, they are bounde to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hanginen and ministers of the Diuell may washe their handes in bloud of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

Id. ij.

For

For their seruice in the kitchen they haue a ponde of water that is filled once a yere, which is brought by conduct from the pꝛincipall fountayne. All the residue of the sayde circuite serueth for places to bréde soule, with gardens of hearbes and swéte trees, with Roles and floures for the Altars. Such, so great & straunge was this temple of *Mexico*, for the seruice of the Diuell who had deceived those simple *Indians*. There dothe reside in the same temple continually fíue thousand persons, and all they are lodged and haue theyꝝ lining there, for that tēple is maruellous riche, & hath diuers townes onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bounde to sustayne the same alwayes on foote. They doe some corne, and maintayne all those fíue thousande persons with bread, fruyte, flesh, fishe, and firewoodde as much as they néede, for they spende more fire woodde than is spent in the kings court: these persons doe liue at their hartes ease, as seruantes and vassals vnto the Goddes. *Mutezuma* brought *Corses* to this temple, bicause his men shoulde see the same, and to enforce them of his religion and holinesse, wherof I will speake in an other place, being the most straunge and cruellest that euer was heard off.

### The Idols of Mexico.



The Gods of *Mexico*, were two thousand in number, as the *Indians* repoꝛted, the chiefest were *Vircilopuchli* and *Texcatlipuca*, whose images stode highest in the Temple bypon the Altars: they were made of stone in ful propoꝛtion as bigge as a Gyant. They were couered with a lawne called *Nacar*. These images were besette with pearles, pꝛecious stones, & pꝛices of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and



and flowers, adorned with Emerals, Turquies, Calcedons, and other litle fine stones, so that when the lawne Nacar was taken away, the Images seemed very beautifull to beholde.

The Image had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collors or chaynes about their neckes, ten hartes of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfaiete visor with eies of glasse, and in their necks death painted: eache of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddesses were byethzen, for *Tezcathipuca* was the God of Providence, and *Pucilapuchih* God of the warres, who was worshipped and feared moze than all the rest.

A vvicked  
attire.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed vppon the toppe of the Chappell of Idols, and hee was esteemed for a speciall and singular God about all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certayne past, tempered with childzens bloud, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the breaſtes, and their heartes taken out, to offer as first frutes vnto the Idoll. The Priestes and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with great pomp and many Ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are presente at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuoute persons came and sticked in the doloy Image pperious stones, wedges of golde, and other Jewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holpe Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlamacatzli*, who are Priestes of order. They doe renue this Image many times with new dough, taking away the olde, but then blessed is hee that can get one peece of the olde ragges for relikes, and

A madde  
offering.

chiefly for souldyers, who thought themselves sure therewith in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certayne vessell of water was blessed with manie wordes and ceremonyes, and that water was preserved very religiously at the fote of the altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captayne generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with only giving him a draught of that water,

### The Charnell house or place of dead

*mens skulles for remembrance of death.*



Without the temple, and ouer againste the principall doze thereof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads prisoners in warres and sacrificed with the knife.

This monument was made like vnto a Theatre, moze larger than broade, wrought of lyme and stone, with ascending steppes, in the walles whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a skul with the teath outwards.

At the fote and head of this Theatre, were two Towers, made only of lime and skulles, the teath outwarde, and this wall hauing no other stufte, seemed a straunge sight. At and vppon the toppe of the Theatre, were 70. polles, standing the one from the other foure or five fote distant, and eache of them was full of skauces from the fote to the toppe. Each of these skauces had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had five skulles broched through the temples. And eue de Tapia did certify me, that he and Gonsalo de Umbria dyd reckon them in one daye, and founde a hundred thirtie and sixe thousande skulles on the polles, skauces, and steppes. The other Towers

were were replenished out of number, a moſt cruell cuſtome, being only mens heads ſlaine in ſacrifice, although it hath a ſhewe of humanitie for the remembzance there placed of death. There are alſo men appoynted, that when one ſkull falleth, to ſet by another in his place, ſo that the number may neuer want.

### Hovv Cortez tooke Mutezuma prisoner.



Ernando Cortez and his companie, were ſire dayes in beholding and peruſing the ſituation of the Citie, and ſecretes of the ſame, with the notable thinges befoze rehearſed: they were often viſited by Mutezuma, & the Gentlemen of hys Courte, and abundantly provided of thinges neceſſarye for his uſe, and the Indians of his company.

Likewiſe his Horſes were cheriſhed and ſerued with greene barley and graſſe, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: Likewiſe of cozne, meale, roſes, and of all thynges that their owners would request, in ſo much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this ſorte cheriſhed, and alſo lodged in ſo riche a Countrey, where they mighte ſpyll their purſes, they were not yet all contente and merrie, but rather with great feare and care, eſpecially Cortez, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captayne for the defence of hys fellowes, hee (I ſaye) was penſiue, noting the ſituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the ſtate and maieltie of Mexico, yea and ſome diſquietneſſe of hys owne companie, who would come and laye vnto hys charge the ſnare and nette that they were in, thynkyng it a thyng vnpoſſible that anye of them coulde eſcape,

A ſeuerall  
bedde.

if



Determina-  
tion of  
Cortez.

if *Mutezuma* were thereunto determined, or else with the least muteny in the worlde, that might be rayled in the Citie, although that euery inhabitant shoulde throw but one stone at them, or else to breake vp the drawbridges, or withdrawing their victuals, things verie easie to be done. With this greate care that he had of the preferuation of his fellows, and to remedie the perill and daunger that he stood in, he determined to apprehend *Mutezuma*, and to build foure foysses to haue the lake in subiection, which he hadde tofoze ymagined, and without the apprehension of the King, he coulde not come by the Kingdome: he would verie gladly haue buyt the foysses out of hand, but he left off that pretence, only bycause he would not delay the emprisonment of *Mutezuma*, where in consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that forthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without gviuing any of his company to vnderstand thereof.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe for that purpose, was, that the Lorde *Qualpopoca* hadde slayne nine *spanyarden*: likewise encouraged him the greate presumption of his letters written to the Emperour *Charles* his king, wherein he wrote that he would take *Mutezuma* prisoner, and dispossesse him of his Emprye. These causes considered, he toke the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, wherein was written, holwe *Qualpopoca* was the cause of the death of nine *spanyarden*, and put those letters into his pocket, and walking vp and downe his lodging, tossing to and fro these ymaginations in his brayne, full of care of the great enterpryse that he had in hande, yea he hymselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head beeyng in this sort occupied, he chanced to espye one wall more whiter than the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a doze lately dammed vp, & calling vnto him two of his seruants (for all the residue were asleepe) by  
cause

raile it was late in the nighte, he opened that doze, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Idols, some with gallant feathers, Jewels, precious stones, plate, yea and such an infinite quantitie of golde, that the sight thereof amazed him, and other gallant things that made him to maruell. He shutte thys doze agayne as well as he moughte, withoute touching any part of that treasure, because he wolde not make any bydoze therabout, nor yet to delay the imprisonment of *Mutezuma*, for that treasure was alwayes there to be had.

Treasury  
of Mutezuma.

The nexte daye in the morning came certayne Spanyarde vnto hym, and manye Indians of *Flaxcallon*, saying that the Citizens did goe about to conspire their death, and to breake downe the byldges of the calles, to byng their purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, being true or false, Cortes left the one halfe of his men to defende and kepe his lodging, and at euery crosse strete he planted men, and the residue he sent to the Court by two, and two, and thre and thre, and he hymselfe came to the pallaice, saying that he must talke wyth *Mutezuma* of matters that did import their liues. Cortes was secretlye warned. *Mutezuma* hearyng holde Cortes attended for hym, came forth and receyued him, taking him by the hand, and placed him in his seate. Whittie Spanyarde wayted vpon Cortes, and the residue abode without at the doze.

Cortes saluted *Mutezuma* according to his accustomed manner, and began to tell and talke merly as he was wont to do. *Mutezuma* being carelesse of the thing that fortune hadde prepared agaynst hym, was also very merrie, and pleased with that conuersation. He gaue vnto Cortes Jewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters to others of his company. Cortes receyued the gift, for otherwise it hadde bin

Ge;

a frent



afrent vnto *Mutezuma*. But yet he enforced him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Christian law did not permitte the same, nor yet that any Christian mought haue more than one wife, vppon payne of infamy, and to be marked in the forehead.

After all this falke ended, *Cortez* took the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, and caused them to be interpreted vnto *Mutezuma*, makinge hys grieuous complaynte agaynst *Qualpopoca*, who hadde slayne so many *Spanyardes* through hys commaundement, yea and that his subiectes had published, that they woulde kill the *Spanyardes*, and bryake downe the brydges.

*Mutezuma* excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report ginen out agaynst hys subiectes was false and vntreue, and as for *Qualpopoca* who had slayne the *Spanyardes*, he was innocent thereof: and bycause that he shoulde see the troth, he called incontinent certayne of his seruantes, commaunding the to goe for *Qualpopoca*, and gaue vnto them his seale, whiche was a stone that he ware at his wrist, engraued with the figure of the God *Xicilapuchli*, and the messengers departed therewith incontinent.

*Cortez* replyed and sayd: My Lord, your highnesse must goe with me to my lodging, and there abide, vntill poure messengers returne with *Qualpopoca*, and the certaynetie of the deathe of my men: In my lodging poure highnesse shall rule and commaund as you do here in Court, your person shall bee well vsed, wherefore take you no care, for I will haue respecte vnto poure honoz, as to myne owne proper, or the honoz of my kynge, beseeching you to pardon me in this my request, for if I shoulde doe otherwise, and assemble with you, mine owne company woulde be offended with me, saying that I doe not defende them,



according to duetie. Wherefore commaund your house-  
holde seruantes to repose themselves without alterati-  
on, for be you assured, that if any hurte come vnto me, or  
vnto anye of mine, youre person shall pay the same with  
life, considering that it lyeth in youre hand to goe quietly  
with me.

Mutezuma was sore amazed, saying, Sir, my person is  
not fytte to be a prisoner, yea, and though I woulde per-  
mitte the same, my subiectes would not suffer.

They abode arguing the matter nere foure houres,  
and at length Mutezuma was content to goe, haniing pro-  
mise that he should rule and gouerne as he was wont to  
do. Cortes commaunded a place in his lodging to be trim-  
med for him, and he went forthwith thither with Cortes.  
There came many noble men barefooted, weeping and  
lamenting the case, carrying their best garmentes vnder  
their armes, and brought a rich seate, whereon Mutezu-  
ma was placed, & they carried hym vpon their shoulders.

When it was blowen abroade in the Citie that Mu-  
tezuma was carried prisoner to the Spanyards lodging, all  
the Citie was on an uprore: but yet Mutezuma did com-  
fort the Gentlemen that carried and followed him wee-  
ping, praying them to cease their lamentation, saying  
that he was not prisoner, nor yet twent with the Chyphis-  
ans against his will, but for his onely pleasure. Cortes  
appointed a *spanish* garde for him, with a Captayne, the  
whiche he dayly changed, and had *spaniards* always in his  
company to make him pastime. Also where Mutezuma was  
contented with their conuersation, & gaue the full rewards, A forovv  
ful pastime  
He was serued with his owne seruants *Indians*, as at home  
in his pallace. Cortes always intreated him to put off sad-  
nes, & to be merrie, permitting him to dispatch letters, & to  
deale in all affayres of his estate, & to commune and talks  
openly or secretly with his noble men as he was wont to

do, and that was but onely a bayte to bring them to the booke. There was neuer Greke nor Romayne, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeyned, dyd geue y<sup>e</sup> lyke enterpryse, as *Hernando Cortez* did, in taking *Moteczuma* prisoner in his owne house, beeing a most mighty King, & in a most strong fort among infinite people, he hauyng but only 450. companions.

### The recreation of Hunting, whiche

*Moteczuma* vsed



*Moteczuma* had not only al the libertie that he desired in the Citie, beeing prisoner among the Spanyards, but also *Cortez* permitted him to hunt and hauke, or to go to the temple, for he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried upon mens shouldrs with eyght or ten Spanyards in his guard, and thre thousande *Mexicans*, who were Gentlemen, his seruants, and hunters, of whome he hadde a great number, some to seeke the game, others to beate the couertes, and others to marke. Some of those Hunters were only for hares and connyes, other for all sorts of *Dare*, *Aloues*, *fores*, and such like. They were very perfite with theyr bowes, and good markeme, for he that missed his marke at fourescore pases distant was punished. It was strange to see the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to see the slaughter of beasts killed, with handes, flaucs, nettes, and bowes, some of those beastes were tame, and other braue and fearefull, as *Lions*, *Tigers*, and *Dunces*. It is a harde thing to take a fierce *Lion* in hunting as they do, being in manner a naked people, and the beast couragious and strong, but yet the *Properbe* saith, sight and cunning is better than strength.



It is a more strange thing to take any foule that lieth in the ayre as their Faulconers doe, for after they haue once marked and set eye vpon any foule, the Faulconers of *Mutezuma* will vnder take to catch him, although the foule be neuer so swifte of wing, being at the least so commaunded by the King. It happened one day that *Mutezuma* stode in his gallerie with his Guarde of Spanyardes, who had espied a fayre Hauke soying in the ayre, oh quoth they what a fayre Hauke lieth yonder, *Mutezuma* hearyng their talke, called vnto him certayne of his Faulconers, commaunding them to followe that Hauke & to bring him vnto him. The Faulconers wente to fulfill his request, and followed that foule with such diligence, that in thoyte space they brought the Hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the Spanyards, a thing truly almoste incredible, but yet certified by worde and wytyngs of the present witnesses. Their chiefest and most pleasant pastime of Hauking was, of lightes, Ravens, Crows, Pies, and other birdes of hardie stomake and slowe in flight, greate and small of all sortes, for the which he had Eagles, Wypters, and other foule of rappyne marneplous swifte of wing, and suche as woulde mounte very high in the ayre, with the whiche they murdered Hares, Wolues, and (as some say) Hartes.

He had other fowlers, that vsed pettes, Snares, and sundry engins, *Mutezuma* vsed much to shote in a tronke, and with his bow killed many wilde beastes. His houses of pleasure as I haue before declared, stode fye myles from the Citie in pleasant wooddes: and alwayes when he went a huntynge after the tyme that he was prysoner, the same day he woulde retorne agayne to *Corres* his lodging, although he banketed & feasted with the Spanyardes at his places of sportynge and pastime, and woulde alwayes at his retorne to his lodgynge giue some present vnto the,



that had accompanied him that day.

Cortes seying the liberalitie of *Mutezuma*, sayde vnto him : sir, my company are unruly fellowes, and as I vnderstand, they haue founde out some of your treasure, and haue made spoyle thereof: wherfoze I would know your pleasure what shal be done with thē. And in effect it was the treasure that *Cortes* himselfe had founde out. *Mutezuma* answered, saying, sir that treasure which they haue founde, did appertayne vnto the Goddes: But yet notwithstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all suche things as are neyther golde nor siluer, and all the residue take for you and them, and if you will haue moze, I will prouide it for you.

### Hovv Cortez began to plucke downe

the Idols of Mexico.



Then *Mutezuma* went vnto the temple, he went learing vpon a noble mans arme, or else was leade betwene two, and a noble personage wente alwayes befoze him with thre small wandes in his hande, signifying thereby that the King in person was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and correction. If he had bene carried vpon mens shoulders then at his alighting downe he toke one of those roddes into his owne hand. He was a prince ful of ceremonies in al his doings, but the substaunce of his estate is already declared, from the time that *Cortes* entred into Mexico vntil this present. Those first dayes that the Spaniardes came to the Citie, & as often as *Mutezuma* went to the temple, *Indian* men were slayne in sacrifice. And to prohibite suche abhominable crueltie & sinne, committed in the presence of the *Christians* who wet in company of *Mutezuma*, *Cortes* required

required *Mutezuma*, to commaunde that no mans fleshe should be any moze spoyled, or bloud shedde in sacrifice, and in not fulfilling his request, he would best. oy bothe the temple and Cittie. Also he signified vnto him, that he himselfe would throw downe the idols, befoze his presence and all the Citizens.

*Mutezuma* replied to his demaünd, saying: It may please you to leaue of your determination, least that in so doing all the Cittie fall into an bproue and rebellion to defende their good Gods, and auncient Religion, the which Gods had alwayes prouided them of water, bread, health, light, and all other things needefull. This notwithstanding, the first time that *Mutezuma* wente to the temple after his imprisonment, *Cortes* and his company wente with him, and euery of them layde handes vpon the idols, & thzewe them downe headlong from their seates, and Altars, and other Chapels. *Mutezuma* with this sight was in great agonie, yea and his subiects ready to take weapon to slay them there present, but yet *Mutezuma* commaunded his subiectes to stay from their pretence: besæchyng *Cortes* to stay from his proceedings, at whose request *Cortes* ceased, soz he thought, as yet time serued not for the purpose and pretence: but he declared vnto them by his interpreters as followeth.

**The exhortation that Cortez made**

*to Mutezuma and to the Citizens of Mexico,  
concerning their Idols.*



All creatures in the world (mightie prince, and yee Gentlemen and religious persons whether it be yee here or we in Spayne, or whatsoeuer other nation that it may be) haue I say, all one begynnynge and ending

ending of mortall life, whiche is had from God: we are all  
formed and made of one mettall, and haue all soules and  
senses, euen so doubtlesse as we are like in proportion of  
body and soule, yea and kinsfolke in blood, although that  
by the prouidence of the same our God, some are bozne  
fayre and beautifull, and other some fowle and disfigured:  
some of one colour, and some of another: some prudent and  
wise, and other some sonde and foolish, without eyther  
iudgement or vertue: in the which his maruelous woorks  
God sheweth himselfe iuste, holy and almightie, giuing  
those seuerall giftes, to the entent that the wise and lear-  
ned might teach the rude and ignorant, and to guyde  
the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes  
of true and vnfayned religion.

Therfore I and my fellowes, as your gesses and kins-  
men, according to equitie doe procure and wish the same  
vnto you. A man and his life consisteth in three things  
as y<sup>e</sup> shal vnderstande, that is body, soule, and goddes: as  
for your goddes and riches, whiche is the least that we  
desire, for y<sup>e</sup> know well that we haue taken nothing for-  
cible from you, but onely those things whiche y<sup>e</sup> haue  
freely and liberally giuen vs. Likewise we haue not hurt,  
misused or molested your persons, wiues or chyldren, nor  
yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is  
the thing we seeke, for your saluation, and that we now  
pretende to shew, and to giue vnto you perfitte notice  
of the true and euermoring God. There is none of naturall  
iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet  
through ignorance and decepte of the Diuell, will also  
thinke that there are many Goddes, and not acerte vnto  
the true God. But I doe say and most assuredly certifie  
you, that there is no other true God, but onely he to whome  
we Christians doe serue, adore, and worshippe, the which  
is one eternall, without beginning and without ende,  
the



the onely creator & gouernour of things created: he alone made the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, the whiche his creatures ye doe worship: he (I say) founded and made the Sea, and the sundry and maruelous fishes therein: he planted and made the lande with all the monstrosous beastes therein, foules likewise in the ayre, Plantes, Hearbes, Stones and such like. Al the whiche creatures ye as blinde and ignorant do hold for Goddes.

Our almighty God after he had finished and made all the former workes with his own blessed hands, made one man & one woman, and being so formed and wrought, he put a soule and breath into each body, and then deliuered the worlde vnto them, shewing them Paradise and glory. So that of that manne and woman, we all mortall menne proceeded in generation, and in this soyle are the handy worke of God, kinsmen and brethren. Nowe if we will come vnto God our father, it is needefull and necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and vnder obedience, the whiche ye can not be if you worshippe statues, images, idols, and vse bloudy sacrifice of mans flesh. Is there any of you that woulde willingly be slayne: no truely: why then doe you see other so cruelly, and where you can put no soules, why doe you take them from thence: there is none of you, nor your false Gods, that can make soules, nor can forge mens bodies of flesh and bone, for if ye coulde, there is none of you woulde be without children, according to your owne appetite and desire, in fashion, beautie and workmanship. But where our God of heauen dothe make al creatures, he useth therein his owne discretion, and giveth children to whome he pleaseth: and therefore is he GOD alone, and for these causes shoulde ye haue, esteeme, and worshippe him for such a mightie God, desirng of him by prayers to giue rayne and temperature, that the earth

ff.

may

It was  
maimed that  
Cortes  
was not  
taken for  
an here-  
cike.

may bring forth Come, fruite, Hearbes, fleſhe, Soule,  
and all other neceſſaries for the ſuſtentation of life. All  
theſe things the harde ſtones giueth not vnto you, no noz  
yet your dry wooden images & colde mettall, neyther yet  
the ſmall ſeeds wherewith your ſeruaunts and ſlaues,  
with theyr filthy handes doe make theſe images and  
ſoule ſtatues, the whiche ye doe worſhippe. What  
ſonde people and made religious perſons, who worſhip  
theyr owne workemaſhippe, doe ye thinke that they  
are Gods that rotte and moldre away, and haue no life,  
and can neyther helpe noz kill? Therefore I ſay vnto  
you, that nowe and hereafter there is no cauſe that ye  
ſhoulde haue any moe idoles, noz yet any moe ſlaugh-  
ters for ſacrifice, no noz yet to make any moe prayers  
or ſupplications vnto them, beeing bothe Blinde, Deafe,  
and Dumme.

Will ye knowe who is God, and where he is: liſte  
by your eyes vnto Heauen, and then ſhall you vnder-  
ſtande that aboue is a Godhead or Deitie that moueth  
the heauens, and governeth the courſe of the Sunne, ru-  
leth the Lande and replenisheth the Sea, who prouideth  
for Man and Beaſt bothe Cozne and Water. This God  
whome ye nowe imagine in your hartes, him (I ſay)  
ſerue and worſhippe, not with death of menne or bloud  
by ſacrifice abominable, but with deuotion and humble  
prayer as we Chriſtians doe. And conſider well, that to  
teach and inſtruct you theſe things, was the cauſe of our  
comming hither.

With this exhortation, Cortes apled the ye of the  
Prieſtes and Citizens: theyr idols beeing throlwen downe,  
Mutezuma toke order that no moe ſhoulde be ſette vp,  
commaundynge to ſweepe and make cleane the Chappels  
of the ſinking bloud that was in the, forbidding ſacrifice  
of mans fleſh. Mutezuma and his officers made a ſolepne  
bolue



waive and promise to permitt no more slaughter of men, and to set up a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christe borne of the virgin Marie. The whiche their promise was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spaniards coulde neuer heare nor see of any more sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hartes a most fall rancor, the whiche coulde not long be dissimuled.

Truely in this worthy facte Cortes gotte more honour than though he had overcomen them in battayle.

### The burning of the Lorde Qual-

popoca and other Gentlemen.

**A**fter twentie dayes that Mutezuma had bene prisoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the scale for Qualpopoca, and brought him, his Sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the whiche by inquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spaniards. Qualpopoca entred into Mexico accompanied like a greate Lorde as he was, beyng borne upon his seruants shoulders in rich furniture. As sone as he had saluted Mutezuma, hee his Sonne were deliuered vnto Cortes, with the other fiftene Gentlemen. Cortes placed them asunder, and commaunded them to be put in Irons, and theyr examinations taken, they confessed that they had slayne those Spaniards in battayle.

Cortes demaunded of Qualpopoca if he were subiect to Mutezuma, why (quoth he) is there any other Prince to whome I might be in subiection: giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lorde absolute. Cortes answered that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spayne, whose subiects vnder colour of friendship and salsecound he

ff. y.

had



had slayne. But (quoth he) nowe shalte thou make payment thereof. And beyng agayne more straighter examined, they confessed that they had slaine two Spaniards by the aduice and inducement of the greate prince *Mutezuma*, and the residue were slayne in the warres, and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, wherofore they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Throughe the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was giuen agaimst them, and they condemned to be burned, whiche sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutine or slaunder, and with great silence, terrour & feare of the newe maner of iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kyngdome of *Mutezuma*, beyng gettes and straungers.

### The cause of the burnyng of

*Qualpopoca.*



At the time that Cortes departed from *Pera Cruz*, he left in commission to *Pedro Hircio*, to procure to inhabite in that place which is called *Almeria*, & not to permit *Francisco de Garray* to sojourne there, for so much as once he was driven fro that coast. *Pedro Hircio* to fulfill his commission, sente to requyre those Indians with peace and friendship, and to yelde themselves for vassals of the Emperour. *Qualpopoca* Lord of *Nahustlan*, which is now called as aforesaid *Almeria*, sent to aduertise *Pedro Hircio*, that he could not come to yelde his obedience, for the enemies that were in the way; but if it would please him to sende some of his men, for the security of the way, he would willingly come vnto him. *Hircio* hearing this answer, sent foure of his men, giuing credite

credite to his message, and for the desire he hadde to inhabite there.

When the foure *spanyardes* came into the prouince of *Nahustlan*, there mette with them many armed men, who slew two of them, and made thereof a great triumph: the other two escaped soze wounded, and returned with that newes to the Towne of *Vera Cruz*. *Pedro Hircio* beleueing that *Qualpopoca* had done that iniurie, armed out agaynst hym fiftie *spanyardes*, and ten thousand *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, with two horses, and two peeces of Ordnance.

*Qualpopoca* hearing this newes, came with a mightie power to drive them out of his Countrey, and in that encounter, seauen *spanyardes* were slayne, and many *Zempoallan*es, but at the ende he was ouercome, his Countrey spoiled, and Towne sacked, and many of his army slaine and taken captiues. The prisoners declared, that by the commaundement of the greate Lorde *Mutezuma*, all this vyzoze was attempted by *Qualpopoca*: it mighte well be, for at the houre of death they confessed the same. But some affirme, they saye so, but to excuse themselves, and to lay the fault to the *Mexicans*. *Hircio* wrote these newes to *Correz* beeyng in *Chololla*, and thzough these letters *Correz* apprehended *Mutezuma* (as is afoze declared.)

### How Cortez put a payre of giues

on *Mutezuma* his legges.



Before the execution of *Qualpopoca* and his fellowes, *Correz* declared vnto *Mutezuma*, that *Qualpopoca* and his company had confessed, that by his aduice and commaundement, the nine *spanyardes* were slayne, wherein he had done very euill, they being his friends and guesstes: but (quoth he) if it were not in respect of the

ff. liij.

loue



loue I beare vnto you, this matter shoulde not in this sort be shut vp, and then knocked a payze of giues on his legges, saying, he that killeth ought to be killed, according to the lawes of God. These things did Cortes, because he shoulde occuppe himselfe in his owne griefe and sorrow, and to let other mens passe.

*Mutezuma* wared pale w countenance of death, through the great feare that he was in, saying himselfe in Irons, a new and strange thing for suche a great King, excusing himselfe that he was innocent of the fact. And as soone as the execution of burning was done, Cortes commaunded to put away the Irons that *Mutezuma* ware, offering him libertie, and willing him to goe vnto his owne pallace, who reioyced much to see himselfe out of the Irons, and gaue Cortes most hartie thanks, and refused to goe home to his owne pallace, surmising that the offer was but wordes, or else fearing least his subiects woulde kill him, seeing him out of the *Spanyardes* power, for permitting himselfe to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. He sayd also, that if he went from them, his subiectes woulde rebell, and compell him to kill the *Spanyardes*.

Truly the poore simple soule was of small heart and courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after his imprisonment woulde neuer procure libertie, Cortes offering it vnto him, and many of his noble men desiring him. And remayning in that order, there was none in *Mexico* durst offende any *Spanyard* for feare of displeasing him, for *Qualpopoca* came 70. leagues with only warning him that the great Lorde had sent for him, shewing him the figure of his seale: yea and al the pceres of his realme that dwelte farthest off, were ready to obey hys commaundementes.

How



## How Cortez sent to seeke for Mines

of golde into diuers places.

**C**ortez had a greate desire to know howe farre the Empire of *Mutezuma* dyd extende, and what friendship was betwixte him and other Kings and Princes *Comarcans*, and also to gather together a good summe of gold, to send to *Spainne* to the Emperoure for his custome or fiftie parte, with full relation of the Countrey people, and things happened untill that day. Wherefore he prayed *Mutezuma* to shew him where the mynes were, from whence he and his subiectes had the golde and plate, *Mutezuma* graunted to his request, and incontinent appoynted eyght *Indians*, of the which four were *Goldsmithes*, who had knowledge and vnderstanding of *Mynes*, and the other foure were *gydes* for the iourney. He commaunded them that by two and two they shoulde goe into foure prouinces, that is to say *Zucolla*, *Malinaltepec*, *Tenich*, and *Tutepec*, with other eyght *spanyardes* whiche Cortez appoynted, to haue knowledge of the riuers and mynes of gold, and to bring a mosser of the same. The eyght *spanyardes* departed on their iourney, with the other eyght *Indians*, with tokens from *Mutezuma*. *Zucolla* is 80. leagues from *Mexico*, and the Lord thereof is subiect to *Mutezuma*, who shewed vnto the *spanyardes* thre riuers with golde, and gaue of each riuer a mosser thereof, although it were but litle, for with want of knowledge they knew not wel the manner how to get it out of the riuer. These messengers in their iourney to and fro, passed through thre prouinces full of people and habitatio, with good buildings & frutes full ground, and the people of the one of them called *Tlaxmacolapan*, are of good reason and iudgemente, and better apparelled than the *Mexicans*.

Malinal-

*Malinaltepec* is 70. leagues from *Mexico*, from whence also they brought mosters of golde, the which is had out of a great riuer, by the naturals of that Countrey.

Tenich standeth vp towarde the head of the same riuer of *Malinaltepec*, who are people of another language, and would not permitte our men to haue relation of the thing that they sought. The Lord of that place is called *Coatelicamatl*, who is not subiecte to *Mutezuma*, nor yet is his friende, thinking that his men hadde bin espies: but when he was enformed who they were, he gaue the *Spanyarden* licence to be resolued of their affayres, but straitly commaunded, that the *Indians* of *Mexico* should not presume to come into his dominion. When the *Mexicans* hearde these newes, they required the *Spanyarden* not to credite that *Cazike*, saying, that he was an euill and a cruell man, and would surely kill them. Our men were somewhat amazed, fearing to talke with *Coatelicamatl*, although they hadde his licence, seeing the people of the countrey armed with Launces of five and twenty foote lōg: but yet at lēgth leaning towarde aside, they proceeded forwarde. *Coatelicamatl* receyued thē courteously, and shewed them sixe or seauen riuers with golde, out of the which graynes of golde were taken in his presence, who gaue the same moster vnto them, and sente also his Embassadors to *Cortez*, offering his lande and person vnto him, with certayne mantels, and Jewels of golde.

*Cortez* more reioyced of the Embassage, than of the gold and presents, knowing thereby that *Mutezuma* bys enimies desired his friendship: but *Mutezuma* and bys counsell liked not the matter, for although *Coatelicamatl* is no great Lord, yet his people are good fouldoyers, and his countrey full of wildernesse, of Rockes and Mountaynes. The other that wente to *Turepec*, which standeth nere the sea coast, and twelue leagues frō *Malinaltepec*, returned

returned likewise with moster of golde of two Miners, and brought newes that the Countrey was fit to buylde vppon, with hope to reape muche golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

Cortez hearing these newes, prayed *Mutezuma* to build a house there in the name of the Emperoure *Charles*, who incontinente sente thither workemen and labourers, whiche within two monethes hadde built a greate house, and other thre little houses round aboute it, with a ponde of water full of fishe, and five hundred Duckes, and a thousand five hundred Turkie cockes and hennes, and muche householde stuffe, so that the gifte was worth twentie thousand Castlins of golde. He gaue vnto hym also twenty bushels of the grayne called *Centli*, readye sowed, and two thousand stokes of trees called *Cacaual*, whiche bringeth forth the fruite *Cacao*, that serueth for money and meate. Cortes began this husbandrye, but yet made not an ende thereof, with the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaiz*, and the vproze in *Mexico*, whiche shortly followed. He also besoughte *Mutezuma* to certifie him if there were any sure porte or harbor on the Sea coast, where the Spanish nauie might ride in safetie: he answered that he knew of none, but that he would sende to make enquirie thereof. And forthwith he commaunded all that coast to be painted in a cloath made of cotten woll, with all the riuers, bays, crêkes and capes that were within his dominion. In all the same portrayture did not appeare anye porte, skale, or sure roade, sayng a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaynes, which place is now called the harbor of *Saint Marine*, and *Saint Anthony* in the prouince of *Coazacoalco*. The Spanyards thought the same to be a straight or passage into the South sea, to passe vnto the *Maluccos* and spicerie, but they were deceiued although they beleued the thing that they desired.

¶ Gg:

Cortes



Cortes for this purpose sent tenne Spanyardes, all good marriners and Pylots, in compaigne of the Indians that *Mutezuma* sent on that voyage at his owne cost.

They departed, and came to *Chalohicoeca*, where firste they came a land, the which place is now called *S. Iohn de Vlhua*.

They wente 70. leagues along the coast, without finding any Riuer, although they mette with many brookes of shallowe water, not fytte for a roade for Shyppes.

They apozted at *Coazacoaleo*, the Roade whereof was enemie to *Mutezuma*, hys name was *Tuchimtec*, who friendly receyued the Spanyardes, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at *Potonchan*. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and seeke the Riuer, where they found sire sadome in deapth, and wente vpp that Riuer twelue leagues, wher they descryed many great towne, and it seemed a fruitfull soyle. This *Cazike Tuchimtec*, sente vnto Cortes with the Spanyards certayne gold, precious stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skynnes, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admytte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yearly a certayne portion of his riches, with suche condition, that the Indians of *Culhua* should not enter into his iurisdiction.

Cortes muche reioysed with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the faire riuer, for the Marriners hadde enformed him, that from the riuer of *Grijalua* vnto *Panuco*, was no riuer to be found, but I beleue they were deceyued. Cortes returned backe agayne some of those messengers, with a present of Spanishe ware for *Tuchimtec*, and to be better enformed of all his meaning, with a special charge to knowe the comoditie of that porte and Countrey, who went, and in shorte time returned wel satisfied of their demaund: wherevpon Cortes sente thither *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, for Captayne of a hundred and fifty Spanyards,

Spanyarden, with commission to build a fort.

The imprisonment of Cacama, King  
of Texcuco.



He weake courage and stomake of *Mutezuma*, caused his subiectes not onely to murmur, but also to seeke meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew *Cacama*—*zin*, Lord of *Texcuco*, who was a stout young man and an honorable, and one who receiued great griefe of his Uncles imprisonment: and seeing that this matter seemed long, he besought his Uncle to procure his libertie, and to shew himselfe a Lord, and not a slave: but seeing at length that he could not accept and follow his counsell, he began to stirre in the matter, threatening the death and destruction of the Spanyarden. Some said, that *Cacama* did begin that matter, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonour done vnto his Uncle. Others saide, that his meaning was to make himselfe King of *Mexico*. Others held opinion, that his pretence was only to make an ende of the Spanyarden. But let it be for what soeuer purpose. Once he gathered a great army, which he coulde not want, although *Mutezuma* was prisoner, especially against the Spanyarden. He published that he would redeme his Uncle out of Captiuitie, and expulse the straungers, or else kill and eate them.

This was a terrible newes for the Chzistians, but yet for all those bragges *Cortes* diswayde not, rather he determined forthwith to prepare himselfe for the warres, and to besiege him in his owne house and Towne, saying that *Mutezuma* disturbed him, saying that *Texcuco* was a place very strong, and situated in water, and that *Cacama* was a man of bolde and stout courage,

Ch. 4.

and

and had at commaundement the Indians of *Culhuā*, and was also Lord of *Culhuacan* and *Oumpā*, whiche were fortres of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way : so that Cortez ruled himselfe by the counsell of *Mutezuma*, and sent vnto *Cacama*, praying him to haue in remembrance the friendshippe that hadde bin betwixt them two, from the time that he came and broughte hym into *Mexico*, and that alwayes peace was better than warre, and especially for a noble man of bassals, for the begynnynge of warres was pleasant to hym that knowe not what warres meante : and in so doynge, he shoulde do both pleasure and seruice to the King of *Spayne*.

*Cacama*  
was vñse.

*Cacama* answered, that he had no friendship with him that woulde take awaye hys honoz and kingdome, and that the warres whych he pretended, was profitable for his bassals, and in defence of their Countrey and Religion, yea and before he determined peace, he meante to reuenge hys Uncles wrongs and his goddes.

Also (quoth he) what haue I to doe wyth the King of *Spayne*, who is a man that I knowe not, no no; yet would gladly heare of hym.

Cortez turned agayne to admonishe and require hym diuers tymes to leaue off his determination, and wyled *Mutezuma* to commaunde hym to accepte hys offer.

Wherevpon *Mutezuma* sente vnto hym, desiring him to come vnto *Mexico*, to take some order in those controuersies and discordes betwixt hym and the *Spaniards*.

*Cacama* answered very sharply vnto his Uncles request, saying, if you had bloud in your eye, or the hearte of a Prince, you woulde not permit your selfe to bee prisoner, and captiue of foure poore straungers, who  
with



with their fayre speache and flatterynge talke haue bewitched you, and vsurped your kingdome, no no; yet, suffer the Goddess of *Culhua* to be thzowen downe and spoiled, yea and the *Mexican* religion and holy places, violated and troden with theues fete and deceyuers: likewise the honour, gloze, and fame of your predecessors blotted and abased, though your saynt stomacke and cowardize. But notwithstanding, according to your request, and to repayze our religio, to restore the Goddess to their Temples, to preserve the kingdome, and to procure libertie for you and the Cittie, I will obey your commaundement: But how: not with my handes in my bosome, but lyke a warrier, to kill those Spaniardes who haue so affronted the nation of *Culhua*. Our men stode in great perill, as well of the losing of *Mexico* as of their owne liues, if this warre and mutinie had not sone bene qualified: for why? *Cacama* was valiant, skoute, and a good souldier, yea and well furnished of men of warre: also the Citizens of *Mexico*, were desirous of the same, for to redeme *Mutezuma* their prince, and to kill the Spaniardes, or else to expulse them out of the Cittie.

But poore *Mutezuma* remedied the matter, knowing or foreseeing, that warres would not preuaile, yea and beleued, that at the ende all shoulde fall vpon his backe. He dealt with certayne Captaynes & Gentlemen that dwelt in *Texcoco* with *Cacama*, to apprehend him, and bying him prisoner, considering that he was their king and yet aliue. But whether it were, that those Captaynes had serued *Mutezuma* in the warres, or whether it were for giftes & rewardes, they apprehended *Cacama* being in counsell among them, treating of his warres pretended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so brought him to *Mexico* without any further slander or stryfe, and when he was comen to *Mexico*, they put him

Cacama  
prysoner.

on a riche seate, as the Kings of *Tezcuc* were wonte to sitte vpon, beyng the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto *Mutezuma*: and in this sorte brought him before his vncle, who would not looke vpon him, but commaunded him to be deliuered vnto *Cortes*, who incontinent clapped a payze of giues on his legges, and a payze of manacles on his handes, and put hym into sure *Guarde* and custodie.

After that *Cacama* was in this order prysoner, with the consent of *Mutezuma* was elected *Lorde* and Prince of *Tezcuc* and *Culhuacan*, *Eucuzca*, *Cacama* his yonger brother, who was abiding in *Mexico* with his vncle, and fled from his brother: *Mutezuma* did entitle him with the ceremonies accustomed vnto Princes newly elected and chosen. So that forthwith he was obeyed in *Tezcuc* by *Mutezuma* his commaundement, for he was there better beloued than *Cacama*, who was somewhat of a crooked nature. In this sorte was remedied all the former perill, but if there had bene many *Cacamads*, it would haue fallen out otherwise.

Here *Cortes* made kings, and commaunded with as great autoritie as though he had obtayned already the whole Empire of *Mexico*: and certainly sithens his first entry into that countrey, he had an assured hope to win *Mexico*, and to be *Lorde* ouer the whole State of *Mutezuma*.

### The Oration that *Mutezuma* made

vnto his Noble men, yeelding himselfe to the  
King of Castile.



After the imprisonment of *Cacama*, *Mutezuma* proclaymed a Parliament, vnto the which came all the *Seniors* *Comarcans*, and beyng all together, he made the Oration following vnto them.

My kinsmen, friendes and seruants, y<sup>e</sup> do well knowe  
that eightene yeares I haue bene your kyng, as my fa-  
thers and Grandfathers were, and alwaies I haue bene  
vnto you a louing Prince, and y<sup>e</sup> vnto me good and obe-  
dient subiectes, and so I hope you will remayne all the  
dayes of my life. Ye ought to haue in remembrance, that  
eether ye haue heard of your fathers, or else our aduines  
haue instructed you, that we are not naturall of this  
countrie, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our  
forfathers came from a farre countrie, and they king  
and captayne who brought them hither, returned againe  
to his naturall countrie, saying that he woulde sende  
suche as shoulde rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee  
himselfe returned not. Beleeue ye assuredly, that the king  
whiche we haue looked for so many yeares, is he that  
hath nowe sente these Spaniardes, whiche y<sup>e</sup> here see.  
Who dothe certifie, that we are their kinsmen, and that  
they haue had notice of vs a long tyme: lette vs there-  
fore gyue thanks vnto the Goddes, that nowe they are  
comen in our dayes, beyng a thing that we so muche de-  
sired.

A fonde  
beliefe.

Y<sup>e</sup> shall nowe doe me seruice and pleasure, that y<sup>e</sup>  
yelde your selues vnto this Captayne for vassals of the  
Emperours King of Spayne our Soueraygne, I my  
self haue already yeldest me for his seruitour and friend,  
praying you that from hence forwardes ye obey him as  
ye haue obeyed me. And that y<sup>e</sup> yelde and pay vnto  
him the tributes, customes and seruice that ye were wont  
to pay vnto me, and in so doyng, ye can doe me no grea-  
ter pleasure. Hys harte then woulde not suffer hym to  
speake any more, with the sobbes, sighes, and teares,  
that fell from hys eyes. All his subiectes there presente  
fell into a crie, weeping and mourning, that for a good  
space they had no power to speake: they gaue thyrikes, and  
sighings,

Poore Mu-  
tezuma.



sighings, uttering with their mouthes many dolefull, and sorrowfull speeches, yea that it pitied our owne men at the hartes. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commaundement. Then *Mutezuma* and the Burgesses of Parliament in order yelded themselves for vassalls of the king of *Castile*, promising loyaltie. This acte was set downe by the Notarie, and with witnesss autozized. Then the *Indians* departed home to their houses with sorrowfull hartes, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to see *Mutezuma* wepe with so many Noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what grieve they became subiects to an vnknowen Prince, but they coulde not otherwise doe, seying that *Mutezuma* did commaunde the same.

A true prophetic.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and forwar-  
ning by their Priestes of the coming from the east par-  
ties a strange people, white of colour and bearded men,  
who should winne and rule that countrey. Likewise there  
was a secrete talke among them, that in *Mutezuma* should  
ende and finishe, not alone the lynage of *Culhua*, but also  
the Emperre and kingdome: therefore some were of opi-  
nion, not to name him *Mutezuma* whiche signifieth, grie-  
ued with misfortune. They say also that *Mutezuma* him-  
self had many times answer of the Oracle of the Gods,  
that in him should finishe the *Mexican* Emperours, and  
that no childe of his should succede in his kyngdome,  
and that he should lose his seate in the eyght yeare of his  
raigne: & for these causes he would neuer procure warre  
to withstande the Spaniardes, beleuyng that they should  
be his successors. Yet on the other side he thought his  
opinion would take no place, for that he had raygned se-  
uentene yeares: But this should seme to come from the  
providence of God, whiche giueth kingdomes and taketh  
them away,

Cortes gaue vnto *Mutezuma* mosse hartie thanks on the behalfe of the Emperour, and for himself, and comforted him, who was very sad, promysing also that alwayes he should be kyng and Lozde, & commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chief ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he shoulde gette and bying to the seruice of the Emperour.

### The Golde and Iewels that Mute-

*zuma gaue vnto Cortes for tribute.*



After certaine dayes that *Mutezuma* and his counsell had yelden their obedience, Cortes sayde vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes & charges in his warres, wherfore it should be necessary that his newe bassals shoulde begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willyng him to sende throughout his dominion to see what coulde be gathered of Gold, and that he himselfe should beginne firste to pay tribute to the example of others. *Mutezuma* answered that he was contented so to doe, willyng that some of his men shoulde goe vnto the house of soule for the same. There went many, and there saue golde in planches like bycke battes, Iewels, and peces wrought in a hall, and two chambers which were opened vnto the. The Spaniardes wodering at the sight, would not touch any thing, without giuing firste aduertisement to Cortes, who incontinent went thither, and caused it all to be carried to his lodgng: besides this treasure *Mutezuma* gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotten and feathers marnelously woven in figures & colours, it seemed without coparison, for the Spaniardes had neuer sene the like: he gaue vnto him moze, twelue shoting tronkes, wherewith he himself

Wh. was

was wont to passe time: some of them were paynted with birdes, beastes, floures & trees very perfit, a worke surely much to be commended: and some of them were engraued very curiously, with their mouldes and pellets of golde.

He sente also his seruants by twos and twos, and fives and fives, ech company with one Spaniard, to the Lords of other prouinces, fourescore, and a hundred leagues frō Mexico, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruice to the Emperour. Euery Lord and Seignior payde the quantitie appointed & taxed by *Moteczuma*, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

The messengers returned, although they had taried somewhat long on their iourney, of whom Cortes receyued all that they brought, and caused it to be molten, out of the whiche was had in fine golde, 1600000. Castlins, of the value of seuen shillings and six pence the pce, and rather more, and also five hundred markes of plate, after six Ducates the marke.


This treasure was deuided among the Souldiers, but not all: euery man was payde accordyng to his office. The hoysen men had twice as muche as the footemen. Also Cortes was payde out of the stocke the money promised him in *Vera Cruz*.

There came to the kings parte, 32000. Castlins and a hundred markes of plate, the whiche was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other pceces, accordyng to the *Indian* fashion, to be sent to the Emperour. Besides this, the present that Cortes layde aside, and take out of the stocke to send to y<sup>e</sup> Emperour, was worth, 100000. Ducates, in pearles, precious stones, golde, and feathers, feathers and siluer, and many other iewels, as the gallant tronkes, whiche beside their value were strange to behold, wrought with the braverie aforesayde. This present appoynted, was not sent, so that and al the rest was after



afterwarde losse at the troubles in *Mexico*, as hereafter shall moze playnly appeare.

### Hovv Mutezuma required Cortez to departe from *Mexico*.

 Cortez seying himselfe riche and mightie, he occupied himselfe in threë things, the one was to sende unto *Santo Domingo* and other Ilands, newes of his proceedings and prosperitie, and also money to provide menne, horses and armour, for his owne company were to selwe for so greate a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the state of *Mutezuma*, hauing him prisoner, and also at his commaundement *Tlaxcallan*, *Coatlicamath*, and *Tuchintlec*, knowyng also that the *Indians* of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Mechuacan*, were mortall enimites to the *Mexicans*, who woulde ayde and assist him hauing neede of their helpe, his thirde pretence was, to procure all the *Indians* to be Chyristened, the which purpose he toke first in hand, as a thing most needefull. On the other side, *Mutezuma* repented himselfe, hauyng newes that *Pamfilo de Naruaiz* was arriued, who came as enemy to Cortez, yea and after all this he was at length driuen out of *Mexico*. These notable things shalbe reherfed in their order. But now *Mutezuma* came, and desired Cortez to departe out of his countrey, aduising hym that otherwisc bothe he and his menne were in perill of killyng, saying also, that threë especiall causes moued him to this requestte: the one was, the dayly sute of his subiectes, who enpoztuned him to come out of captiuitie, and to murder the Spanyardes, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer theyr Prince to bee in prysen in the power of so fewe straungers, whom they might vse as a foetebal: hauing dishonored the

Wh. ij. and

and robbed them of their goodes, gathering and heaping  
 vp their gold for themselves, & for their king, who as se-  
 med by their doings, was but a poore fellowe, and if hee  
 would not accept their offer and sute, that then of thep  
 owne auctoritie they would take the thyng in hande, for  
 so much as he refusing to be thep king they would also  
 refuse to be his vassals, giuing warnyng and aduice that  
 he should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniardes  
 handes, than *Qualpopoca* and *Cacama* his Penelwe had re-  
 ceiued, although they shoulde flatter him neuer so muche.

An other cause was that the Diuell had appeared vnto  
 him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or dyeue  
 them out of the lande, threating him that if he did not  
 so, that then he would goe from him and neuer talke a-  
 ny moze with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, bap-  
 tisme and deuotion, they doe muche displease me. *Mute-  
 zuma* answered him, that there was no reason to kill the  
 being his friendes and honest men, but he would entreate  
 them to departe, (vnto this) the Diuell answered that hee  
 should do so, and therein he would receyue great pleasure,  
 for eyther he would goe his way and leaue him, or else  
 that Christian fellowes should departe, for they sow here  
 (quoth he) a Christian fapth & which is much against our  
 Religiō, and can not dwell both together. Another cause  
 was, that *Mutezuma* was not well pleased with the im-  
 pysonment of *Cacama*, who once he loued exceeding well  
 so in fine, secretly hee repented him of all that was past  
 in the Spaniardes fauour, and chiefly by the persuation  
 of the Diuell, who sayde that he coulde not doe vnto him  
 a moze acceptable seruice, and of greater pleasure to the  
 Goddes, than to erpell the Spaniardes and abolishe the  
 name of Christians, and in so doyng, the seate of Kinga  
 should not finish in the linage of *Culhua*, but rather be en-  
 larged, & his childre should raigne after him, wishing him

not to beleue in propheties, sithence the eight yeare was  
past, and was nowe in the eyghteenth yeare of his raigne.  
For these causes, or possible for other whiche we knowe  
not off, *Mutezuma* prepared an army of a hundred thou-  
sand men so secretely, that *Cortez* knew not thereof, to the  
effecte, that if the Spaniards would not departe, being  
once moze required, that then he meant not to leaue one  
of them aliae. With this determination, he came for the  
one day into the yard or courte, and had long conference  
and consultation with his Gentlemen aboute this mat-  
ter. This done, he sente for *Cortez*, who liked not this  
newes, saying to him selfe, I pray God this message  
be to good purpose, and taking twelue of his men whych  
were readiest at hand, went to know wherefoze hee had  
sente for him. *Mutezuma* arose from the place where hee  
sate, and toke *Cortez* by the hande, commaunding a stole  
to be brought for him, and so sate them downe both togie-  
ther, and beganne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beseeche  
you to departe from this Citie and Countrey, for my  
Gods are soze offended with me, bycause I doe, and haue  
permitted you here so long: demaunde of me what you  
please, and it shall be giuen you, bycause I loue you well:  
and thinke you not, that I giue you this warning in iest,  
but rather in god earnest, therefore it is conuenient, that  
you depart, It seemed strange vnto *Cortez* this talke. Also  
he saw by the countenance of *Mutezuma*, that some thing  
was a working, and befoze the interpreter of *Mutezuma*  
had made an end of his talke, *Cortez* willed one of his me-  
n to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellows, saying,  
of the waight of their liues was in questiō. Then our me-  
n called to remembrance what was tolde them in *Tlaxcala-*  
*lon*, considering that it was needeful of courage and help  
from God to bring them out of that daunger. When *Mu-*  
*tezuma* had ended his tale, I haue (quoth *Cortez*) vnderstood  
your



A little  
Foxe.

your meaning, and doe thanke you for the same: also I would know when it is your pleasure that we should depart, and it shal be done. Euen when it please you (quoth *Mutezuma*) take the time that you thinke mete, and against that time will I prepare a hundred waight of gold for you, and fiftie pound waight to each of your men.

*Cortes* sayde, you knowe, that when I came into this Countrey, I commaunded all my Shippes to be sonke, so that now I haue neede of time conueniente to builde vessels to carrie vs into oure Countrey: wherefoze my request is, that you commaund some of your Carpenters to be called, to cutte downe timber for the purpose, for I haue men that can make the vessels. And this done, we will departe, so that you giue vs the golde whiche you haue promised, and certifie you the same to your Gods and vassals.

*Mutezuma* receyued great pleasure at this answer, and sayd, your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinente he sent for many Carpenters. Likewise *Cortes* prepared certayne of his Marriners for Shipwrightes. All the which workemen went vnto great woddesses of Pinetrees, and there cut downe the timber necessarye for the purpose. *Mutezuma* being a simple man, gaue credite to all *Cortes* his talke: *Cortes* likewise aduertised his men of his proceedings, and sayd vnto them, *Mutezuma* would haue vs departe out of his Countrey, because his vassals and the Diuell haue entised him therevnto: wherefoze it is needefull that we build shipping, and therefore I praye you goe with these Indians, and procure to cut downe the best timber fit for oure purpose, and in the meane season God will provide for vs, whose assayes we haue now in hand, of remedie and succour in suche sort that we lose not this frutefull countrey. It is also necessary, that when you come vnto the woddesses, that you make all the delay possible,

poſſible, giuing a ſhew that you are buſie occupied, and with great deſire to make an ende, that thoſe *Indians* may ſuſpect nothing of oure pretence. Depart in Gods name, and aduiſe me alwayes what doth paſſe in your affaires.

The feare that our men ſtoode in to  
be ſacrificed.



Eight dayes after their departure toward the wooddes, arrived ſixtene ſaile of ſhips at the coaſt of *Chalchicoeca*. The *Indians* of that coaſt aduiſed *Mutezuma* therof, who was not a little aſtraide with the newes, & called *Cortez* vnto him, who feared aſmuch ſome vproze there, and when they ſhewed *Cortez* & *Mutezuma* was come forth into the yarde, he ſuſpected that if *Mutezuma* pleaſed, they ſhoulde be all deſtroyed. Wherefore he ſaid vnto his men, maiſters and friends, *Mutezuma* hath ſent me, conſidering what paſſed this other day, I hold it for no good token. I nowe goe to knowe his will: wherefore, whatſoeuer happen, be you alwayes vigilant and ready, commending your ſelues to God. Remember alſo whome ye are, and who are theſe *Infidels*, abhorred of God, and friends vnto the *Diuel*, without weapon, and experience in warre: if we chance to fight, the handes of each of vs ſhal ſhew by deede with ſwozd, the valloz and courage of our heartes: yea, and although we all die, yet ſhall we remaine with victozy, for that we haue fulfilled the thing we toke in hand, and the ſeruice which we owe vnto God as faithfull *Chriſtians*. With our duetic as true ſubiects to our prince. They all answered, ſaying, we wil do all our poſſibilitie while life laſteth, without feare of perill or daunger, for we leſſe eſtēme death than honoz. With this anſwere *Cortez* wente to *Mutezuma*, who ſayde vnto him, *Senior Captayne*, you ſhall vnderſtande that



that now you haue Shippes wherein you may departe, therefore now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortez answered, not knowing of that shipping, saying, Rightie Sir, when my Shippes are finished I will depart, nay (quoth *Mutezuma*) I meane not those Shippes, for there are arriued eieuen other Shippes at the coast nere vnto *Zempoallan*, and shortly I shall be certified, whether the people that are come in them, are come a shore, and then shall we know what people, and how many they are in number. Blessed is Iesu Christe (quoth Cortez) vnto whome I giue most hartie thanks for his great mercies shewed vnto me, and to the Gentlemen of my company. One of Cortes his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their fellowes, who then receyued double strength, praying God, and embraced one another wyth great pleasure and ioy. And Cortes with *Mutezuma* being in communication together, came another poast, who broughte newes of fourescore Horsemen that were landed, with eyght hundred footemen, and twelue peeces of Ordnance, and shewed painted in a cloth the whole relation both of men, horses, shippes, and ordnance.

At the time  
of neede  
prouideth  
God.

*Mutezuma* hearing the newes that this poast hadde broughte, arose from his seate, and toke Cortes in hys armes, saying, now do I more loue you, than I haue done heretofore, and will this day dyne with you. Cortes gave him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sorte wente hande in hand to Cortes his Chamber, who willed his Spaniards not to make any extraordinary ioy, or alteration, but that they shoulde keepe all together with vigilant watche, and to giue hartie thanks vnto God for the comfortable newes. *Mutezuma* and Cortes dynd together with greate content and pleasure, the one thinking to abide and to enioy the kings state and Countrey, the other thinking that then they woulde auoyd the land.

But



But notwithstanding all these ymaginations, a certaine Indian Captaine importuned *Mutezuma* secretly to kill all *Cortes* his menne, being but few in number, and then should he be the readier to dispatch the others that were newly come, and not to permitte them to ioyne one with another: yea and againe, when the newe come menne should knowe of the death of their countrey men, they would not presume to abide in the lande.

With this counsell *Mutezuma* called many his friends and chiefe estates to counsell, propounding the case and iudgement of the Captaine, whych beeing among them thoroughly hearde, there were many of sundry opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spanyards to come, saying, the more enemies, the more gaine, and if we kill but those whiche are here, then the others will returne to their shippes, and so shall we not make the solemne sacrifice of them to the Gods, according to our desire. *Mutezuma* was occupied in this counsell with five hundred noble men and Gentlemen dayly, and according to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue *Cortes* and his company more than ordinary, saying their joy was at an ende.

A drunken  
reckoning.

### Hovv Iames Velasques sent Pam-

filo de Narvaiz against *Cortes*.



*James Velasques* beeing sore agrieved, with desire of reuenge against *Cortes*, not only for his expences at the time of preparation of *Cortes* his flecte, whiche was but small, but of more hatred of the present honor & prosperitie of *Cortes*. Whereupon he inuented greate causes and quarrells against him, saying and alleaging, that *Cortes* hadde not giuen accompt

It.

accompt

accompt of his proceedings vnto him, beeing Gouernour of Cuba, and Cortez his Deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sente to Spayne to the King, aduise of his discouery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill facte: but chiefly his fury was, knowing how Cortez had sent an honorable present, with the Kings parte or portion of treasure vnto Spayne, yea and whole relation of the discouery, with Francisco de Monteio, and Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero, the whiche proceedings James Velasques meant to disturbe, for that he hadde layde in ambushe a coupell of caruels, to haue taken Cortez: hys presente, and messengers, the whiche his pretence and purpose toke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of Cortez, his furie and madnesse the more encreased, ymagining still his destruction.

And being occupped in these sonde ymaginations, it happened that his Chaplin, one Benito Martine, brought letters from the Emperoure vnto him, with title and letters pattentes, of Generall and chiefe Gouernour of all that then was discouered, inhabited, and conquered in the land and coast of Yucatan. With this newes, Velasques began to triumph, not only so much for the honor, as also to driue Cortez from Mexico. Wherebpon, he incontinent prepared this flete or shauie of eleuen Shyppes, and seauen Wergantines, with nine hundred men, and fourescore Horses, and appoynted one Pamfilo de Naruaez for Captayne Generall, and his Deputie in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his more quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him throughout that Ilande, till they came to Guaniguanico, whiche is the Westermost harbor of the Ilande, and being there Naruaez ready to departe for Mexico, and Velasques to returne to Cuba, came the Licenciat Lucas Vasques de Aillon, a chiefe Iudge of Santo Domingo, in name of the whole Chancery, to require Velasques

laſques vpon great penalties, that he ſhould not permitte  
 or ſuffer *Pamſilo de Naruaez* to proceede on that voyage  
 againſt *Corre*, whiche woulde bee cauſe of further, ci-  
 uil warres, and other miſchiefes among the Spaniards,  
 yea and that *Mexico* ſhould be in daunger of loſing, wyth  
 all the reſt that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings  
 uſe, ſaying vnto him moreover, that if there were any  
 diſcorde betwene them for goodes, or payntes of honoz,  
 that then it did apperteyne to the Emperoure to iudge,  
 and determine the cauſe, and not that he himſelfe ſhould  
 be iudge in his owne cauſe, vſing force againſt the other  
 partie, praying them for the ſeruice of God and the  
 King, that if they would goe to conquere, that then they  
 ſhoulde ſeke other Countreys, hauing ſo good an armie  
 and flée, and Countreys ynough to ſeke. This diligēce,  
 request and authoritie of the Licenciado *Aillon*, to *Velaſ-*  
*ques* and *Naruaez* preuayled not: he ſaying their obſtina-  
 cie and little regarde to him being a chiefe Iudge, deter-  
 mined to goe with *Naruaez* in his Shippe, to lette and di-  
 ſturbe the great hurte that might follow, thinking there  
 in the newe *ſpayne* to perſwade *Naruaez*, better than in  
 the preſence of *Velaſques*, yea and alſo if neede ſhould bee,  
 to be a meane of quietneſſe betwixt them.

Anoble  
Iudge.

*Pamſilo de Naruaez* tooke ſhipping in *Guaniguanico*, and  
 ſailed till he came nere vnto *VeraCrux* with al his flée,  
 and hauing intelligence that there were a hundred and  
 fiftie Spaniards of *Cortes* his band, he ſente vnto them a  
 Prieſt, with one *Iohn Ruiz de Gueuara*, and *Alonſe de Per-*  
*gara*, to require them to receyue him for their Captayne  
 and gouernoure. But the newe Citizens would giue no  
 eare to their talke, but rather apprehended them, & ſente  
 them priſoners to *Mexico* to *Cortez*, to aduertife hym of  
 their emballage, wherebys *Naruaez* vniſhipped his men,  
 horſes, armor, & artillery, & wēt to the directly to *Zepoallā*.

II. y.

The



The Indian Comarcans being as well friends to Cortez, as vassals to Mutezuma, gaue vnto him golde, mantels, and vittayles, thinking that they had bin Cortez his men.

### The substance of a letter that Correz

wrote vnto Naruaez.

**B**Efoze Cortes knewe the effect of the coming of this new flæte, his head was soze troubled, for, on the one side he was glad of the coming of his owne nation, on the other side he liked not so great an armye. Likewise he ymagined, that if they came to succour him, he helde the Countrey for conquered: also if that they were come against him, he iudged the Countrey to bee lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from *spayne*, that then they hadde brought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from *Cuba*, he feared ciuil warres. He also thought, that from *spayne* could not come so many folke in so shorthe space. Finally, he deemed, that his olde enemye *James Velasques* was come personally, but when he knewe the whole truth, then was he muche more pen-siue, thinking that the threed of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea and that they would be meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discovery, both of the secretes of the land, mines and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of *Mutezuma*. It shoulde be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Chrysten the *Indians*, whiche was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in y<sup>e</sup> seruice of God & the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit *Pamphilo de Naruaez* to come vnto *Mexico*, it shoulde be a meane of hys perdition:

If likeliffe he should encounter him, he feared some rebel<sup>n</sup> lion in the Citie, and the setting at libertie of *Mutezuma*, putting in perill his owne honour, life, and trauple: and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined reuiedy. First, he dispatched two men, the one vnto *John Velasques de Leon*, who was gone to inhabite at *Coazacoaleo*, willing him at the sight of his letter to repaire vnto *Mexico*, giuing him aduise of the comming of *Naruaez* and of the great neede that he stood in, of him & his company. The other messenger he sent to *Vera Cruz*, to bring full relation of the arrivall of *Naruaez*, and what was his pretence.

The letter sent to *John Velasques*, came no sooner to his hande, but forthwith he obeyed and fulfilled the same, contrary to the expectation of *Naruaez*, for he was his brother in law, and kinsman vnto *James Velasques*. *Cortes* seeing his constancie, had him ever after that tyme in great estimation.

From the *Vera Cruz* came twentie of the townes men with certificat what *Naruaez* had published, and brought with them a priest, with *Alonso Guevara* and *John Ruiz de Vergara*, who had comen to *Vera Cruz* to amotue the towne, vnder colour that they had brought the commissiō from the king. *Cortes* on the other side, sent vnto *Naruaez* seignior *Bartholome de Olmedo*, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & otherwile to require & commaunde him on the behalfe of the kyng & of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of the rulers and Aldermen of the towne of *Vera Cruz*, who were then in *Mexico*, that he shoulde enter peaceably, without making any alteration untill his auctoritie and commission were seene and allotted, and to make no slander or vproze to the hinderāce of the king his maiesties proceedings.

But at this diligence and letters of *Cortes* and the other

¶ *¶* *¶*

rulers

rulers preuailed not, he seing this, set at libertie the priest that was brought prisoner, and sente him vnto *Naruaez*, with certaine riche collers of gold, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was moze gladder of his comming in that flæte than any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintaunce that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they mought talke and cōferre together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloodshedde and disquietnesse among them, beyng of one natiō and bzeithen, requestyng him to shew his cōmission from the king vnto him, or vnto the counsell of *Vera Cruz*, and he would willingly obey it as reason did require: and if he had not brought any such commission, yet he would make some honest agreement with him. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* seing him selfe strong and mightie, did little regarde *Cortes* his letters, offers, nor requestes, and chiefly bycause *James Velasques* was soze displeased with *Cortes*.

### The talke of Naruaez to the Indians,

and his answere to *Cortes*.



*Pamfilo de Naruaez* declared to the Indians that they were deceyued with their opiniō in *Cortes*, for that he alone was Captayne generall and chiefe Lorde, and that *Cortes* was but a naughty man, and so were all they of his company which are now in *Mexico*, who were all but his boyes, and that his present commyng was to cut of *Cortes* his head, and to chassen the others, likewise he meant to dzyue them all out of the countrey, & then to depart him selfe, and to leaue them in full libertie.

The Indians gaue credite to his talke seying so many bearded men and hoeses, and therebpon began to attende and serue him, leauyng their olde friendes in *Vera Cruz*.

Alte

A foule  
bragge.



Also *Naruaez* began to flatter *Mutezuma*, and sente him worde that *Cortes* aboade in that countrey against the will of his Prince, & that he was a couetous rebell, who robbed his countrey, and that he pretended to kill *Mutezuma*, and to make himself king. Also that his comming was to set him at libertie, and to restore vnto him all that those wicked fellowes had taken from him. And bicause that others should take example of their factes, he would commaunde them all to be slaine, willing him to take no care, for in short space they would see ech other. And that when he had set him at libertie with restitution of his goddes, he would incontinent departe his countrey. These treaties were so foule & abhominable, with the iniurious wordes which *Pamfilo de Naruaez* spake openly against *Cortes* and his men, yea they seemed odious vnto all his owne hoste & army, and some of his own men checked him for the same, especially *Barnardino de Santa Clara*, who seying the countrey so peaceable and so well pleased with *Cortes*, he could not let but reprehende *Naruaez* in his wordes. Also the licenciat *Aillon* required him diuers times to cease fro his slanderous talke, vpon paine of death & losse of his goddes, & also not to procede towarde *Mexico*, for the great hurte that might ensue, with slander among the *Indians*, disquietnesse among the *Spaniards*, and offence to the Emperour his Maiestie. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* being moued with his talke layde hand vpon *Aillon*, being a chiefe iudge for the King, and apprehended also his Secretary & an other officer, and forthwith shipped them, and sente the to *James Velasquez* gouernour of *Cuba*. But when *Aillon* saw himselfe at sea, and free from *Naruaez*, he began to threaten the *Spaniards*, commanding the not to presume to carrie him to *Cuba* to *Velasquez* his power, but onely to *Santo Domingo*, where he was one of the kings counsell in chancery: the *Spaniards* fearing the Kings iustice, obeyed his commandement

And

A cruell  
proclama-  
tion.

Amadde  
reckenyng.

A good ca-  
prayne and  
a yvyle.

and when he was apoynted at *Santo Domingo*, he wholly en-  
faymed the Counsell there, of *Naruaez* and his wicked  
dealyng, whose testimonie and information did much ble-  
mythe the credite of *Velasques*, & erait the trauels of *Cortes*.  
After that *Naruaez* had shipped away *Aillon*, he proclay-  
med warre with fire and sworde agaynst *Cortes*, and pro-  
mised certayne markes of Golde to him that shoulde ap-  
prehende or kill him, or *Pedro de Aluaredo*, and *Gonsalo de*  
*Sandoval*, with other principall persons of his company.  
Also he made diuision of his goodes among his me before  
they came to possesse it. Surely these thye popntes were  
of a man without wisdom or discretion.

Many of *Naruaez* his company did amotine them-  
selues, thzough the commaundement of the Licentiat  
*Aillon*, and thzough the fame and liberalitie of *Cortes*.  
Whereupon incontinent one *Pedro de Villalobos* a *Portu-  
gal*, and fire or seuen moze fledde vnto *Cortes*, yea and o-  
thers wrote vnto him, offeryng themselues to his seruice,  
if by chance they should encounter.

*Cortes* receyued the letters, but kept in silence from his  
company the firmes of those whiche had wrytten to hym.  
Some doe thinke that *Cortes* had suborned them with let-  
ters, sayze promyses, yea and a horse loade of chaynes and  
planches of golde, which he sente secretly to *Naruaez* his  
campe with a seruaunt of his, publishyng likewise, that he  
had an army of two hundzeth Spaniardes in *Zempoallan*,  
where he had none at all: these policies mought well be,  
for he was prudent, carefull and quicke in his busynesse,  
and *Pamfilo de Naruaez* was slouthfull and carelesse.

*Naruaez* made answere to *Cortes* his letter by seignior  
*Bartholome de Olmedo*, the substance of his message was,  
that forthwith he shoulde repayze to the place where he  
was abiding, and there he shoulde see the Emperours com-  
mission & order, wherein was autozitie giuen to hym to

take

take and keepe that countrey for *James Velasques*, yea and that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all officers therevnto appertayning.

After this letter and message sent, he dispatched likewise one *Barnaldino de Quesada*, and *Alonso de Mata*, to requyre *Cortes* to depart and leaue the countrey vpon paine of death, and to notifie vnto him these actes by order of law. *Cortes* layde hande vpon *Alonso de Mata*, bicause he named himselfe the kings *Protary*, and shewed no title or authoritie for the same.

### The talke that Cortez had vyith

his owne Souldiers.



*Cortes* perceyuing the small fruyte that his letters (presentes) and messengers, obtayned at the handes of *Naruaez*, and that in no case, he woulde shewe his commission whiche came from the kyng, he determined to goe vnto him, and according to the olde *Proverbe*, Face to face doth get respect, and likewise if it were possible, to agree vpon some good order and quietnesse: wherevpon he sent *Rodrigo Aluarez* his surueyor, with *John Velasques*, and *John del Rio*, to treat with *Naruaez* of many matters, whereof three things were the principallest. The first was, that they two might meete alone, or else so many, for so many, and that *Naruaez* should permit *Cortes* to abyde in *Mexico*, and he withall his company shoulde chiquere *Panuco* or other kingdomes, also that *Cortes* would pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his souldiers, or else that *Naruaez* should abide in *Mexico*, and deliuer vnto *Cortes*, 400. of his men, to the intent that with them, and his owne men he myght procede to seeke other countreys to conquer. Laste of all, he required to see the

kk. kings



kings commiſſion, for that he would obey the ſame. *Naruaez* liked none of theſe offers, only he accepted that they ſhould meete together with ech of them ten Gentlemen for ſecuritie, bound with ſolemne othe, and firm'd this agreement with their names. But it toke no effect, for *Rodrigo Aluarez* aduiſed *Cortes* that *Naruaez* had made a ſnare to apprehend him, or to kill him at their meeting. *Cortes* vnderſtoode the matter, or elſe he had ſome other intelligence by ſome that loued him wel. And this former agreement taking no place, *Cortes* determined to goe vnto him.

But before his departing, he declared vnto his company, ſaying, I truſt ye haue in remembrance what & how much I haue done for you, ſince the beginning of this enterpriſe, yea & alſo how lovingly & friendly ye haue dealt for me: Ye ſhall now vnderſtand that *James Velasques*, in ſteede of thanks giuing vs, hath ſent to murder vs, *Pamſilo de Naruaez*, who is a ſtubbozne & an vnreaſonable man, one ready to execute our good deſertes done in the ſeruice of God & our Prince, with an euill reward. And the cauſe is only, for doying our duetie in the ſending of the Kings parte & poztio to his Roiall perſon & not vnto him. Alſo this *Naruaez* hath already conſiſcated our goddes, and giuen them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallows, yea and our ſame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurious & ſlanderous wordes proclaymed agaynſt vs, which things truly are not of a Chriſtian, no nor yet we with Gods helpe will let the matter ſo to ſlippe: yea and though we ought to leaue the reuengment vnto God, yet we will not ſuffer them to enioy our trauayles & paynes, who are now comen white fingered to ſpoile the blood of their neighbours, yea & like madde men to ſtrive agaynſt their owne nation, ſowing ſlander among thoſe *Indians* which ſerued vs as our friends, yea & procuring more truck warres, than the ciuill warre betwene *Atatio* & *Sila*, or of

Cesar

Cesar & Pompeio, who turned vpsidowne the Romaine Empire. Therfore I do determine to meete him by y way, & not to suffer him to come vnto Mexico, for it is better to say, God saue you, than they to come & say who is there: yea & though they are many, a god hart doth bzeake euil fortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue passed thozow the pikes since our coming hither: moreouer, I doubt not but that many of Naruaez his cōpany will come vnto vs. Therfore my dēre friends doe I giue you aduise of my pretence, to the entent y those which wil go with me, may them prepare theselues, & those that will not, let them remaine to keepe Mexico & Mutezuma, whiche is as much in effect. At the end of his talke he promised great rewards if y with victoꝝ he returned. His mē answered al w one voyce, y they were al at his cōmandemēt, & ready to fulfil his wil, yet some feared the pride & blindness of Pamfilo de Naruaez: on the other side the Indians began to be lusty, to see diffention among the Spanyardes, & that the Indians of the coast were ioyned in league with the new come mē.

### The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.



After al his talk & answer of his souldiers, he wēt to visite & to commune w Mutezuma for to departe on his iourney, w somewhat y lesser care, & also to proue the minde & wil of Mutezuma, vnto whome he vttered his mind as foloweth. Sir, you know y loue y I haue, & desire to serue you, & chiefly the trust againe, that you will haue to my cōpanions whē I am gone frō this citie. Therfore I pray you, that it may please you to remaine here in this lodgyng, & to haue regard vnto these strangers, which I leaue with you: also I cōmend vnto you, the gold & iewels whiche is in their custodie, and gyuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I doe now goe to signifie vnto those

lik. y.

which

Oh vnto  
Cortez,

which of late are comen in the new flæte, how your highnesse doth commaunde that I departe from this land, and that they doe not agrauate or molest your subiectes, nor yet presume to enter into your countrey, but that they remaine on your coast, vntill we be ready to departe with them, according to your will and pleasure. And if in the meane season, any of your subiects be so vnaduised, as to molest my men, whiche now remaine in your power and Guard, that then it may please you to be their shielde, succour, and onely defence. *Mutezuma* promised to fulfill his request, wishing him mozeouer, that if any in his countrey shoulde offende him, then immediatly to aduise him, and that he would sende his men of warre to chasten the, yea and also (if it pleased him,) he woulde giue vnto hym gupdes to salse conduct him thzough his owne dominion to the Sea coast, who shoulde prouide him of all necessities by the way. *Cortes* kissed his handes for his curtesie, with mosse hartie thankses for the same, and gaue vnto him certayne Spanishe apparell, and other glasse Jewels, and also other like treasure to his Noble men, which stode by at all the talke. But in effect he tolde him not what he pretended to doe, nor yet the newes of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* his proceedings was not come to his eare, or else, it may be that *Mutezuma* dissimuled the matter with inwarde pleasure, that one Christian shoulde kill the other, thinking thereby to haue most sure his libertie, and the Goddes pleased.

### The imprisonment of Pamfilo

de Naruaez.



*Cortes* was so wel beloued among hys compaignie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reason whereof he chose, 250. men fitte for his journey, & lefte other, 200. in guard of

*Mute-*



*Mutezuma* and the Citie, with *Pedro de Aluaredo* for their Captayne. He lefte also with them the artillerie and soure foylles readye made, to haue the lake in subjection, beseeching them onely to haue speciall regard that *Mutezuma* fled not from them to *Naruaez*, and not to permitte him to goe out of their fort or strong houle.

With those fewe Spanyards *Cortes* toke his iourney with no more but eyght or nine Horsesmen, and certayne *Indians* for his seruice, and carriage.

Passing through *Cholulla* and *Tlaxcallan*, he was honorably receyued and lodged, and aboute fiftene leagues from *Zempoallan* where *Naruaez* was abiding, he mette with two Priestes, and his old especial friend *Andres de Duero*, who had lente him money for the setting forth of that voyage. These three persons came to require him to obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Gouernour *Velasques*, and to deliuer vnto him the Countrey, with all the fortres or Castels therein, aduising him, that if he would not accomplish the same, that then he woulde procede againste him, euen as an enemy and Rebel, to the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the request made vnto him, that then he shoulde haue libertie, and conueniente shipping to depart, both for him, and as many as woulde goe with him. *Cortes* answered, that hee woulde rather suffer deathe, than to leaue the Countrey whiche he had conquered and pacified with his handes and industrie, without anye commaundemente from the Emperoure: and (quoth he) if againste all equitie and iustice, he will contend with me in warre, I will defend me as well as I may, and if I haue the victory (as I trust in God and the righte that I haue on my side,) I shall not stand in neede of shipping. and if I be slaine, muche lesse: Therefore I doe require him to shew vnto me his commission and authoritie had from the Emperour, for vntill

A stout  
man.

I doe both see and reade the same, I will accepte no a-  
grément: and if (quoth he) that he refuse the same, that  
then I dare warne, admonish, and require him to returne  
to *Cuba*, the place from whence he came, and if he wil not  
obey my precept, I will then apprehende him, and sende  
him prisoner in yrons to the Emperoure: and with thys  
aunswere dispatched the thre messengers, sending also a  
notarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his ship-  
ping, and to departe without making any alteration in  
the Countrey, or y ensuing of further murders and strife,  
and if not, that vppon *Whitsonday*, whiche was within  
thre dayes folloving, he meante to be with him at sup-  
per. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* made a mockery and iest at  
his commaundemente, and toke Prisoner the Notarie  
whiche came from Cortes with that order, holding Cortes  
for madde, who made so manye bragges with so small a  
company. And before *John Velasques de Leon*, and *John de  
Rio*, Cortes his friendes, he mustered his men, who were  
in number fourescore Hargabushers, a hundred and twen-  
tie Crossebowes, fire hundred men, with other weapon,  
and fourescore Horsemen, saying, how will Cortes defend  
himselfe againste vs, nay at length he will know his du-  
tie: he promised money to him that shoulde eyther kyll,  
or take Cortes prisoner. And the same offer made Cortes  
against *Pamfilo*, who made a rounde of his footemen, and  
skirmished with his Horsemen, shooting off his artillerie,  
to put in feare the poze Indians.

An vncere-  
tayne rec-  
koning.

*Naruaez* signified againe vnto *Mutezuma* with the  
messengers who carried all the triumph and mustre  
pointed, all his former dealings, but hearing that Cortes  
was nere at hande, he sente out hys lyght Horsemen to  
yscric his Campe.

All *Naruaez* his Horses were readye saddled and brid-  
led, and his men armed. Cortes entred so close and secret,  
that

that no man almost hearde him, and the firſte worde he ſpake, hauing all hys men within with him, was, ſhut the gates, and ſtrike, downe with them. There were at that time many ſhining wormes, whiche with their glittering ſeemed matches of Hargabulge, ſo that if one péece at that time had bin diſcharged, they would haue bin in a great feare.

Naruaez being about to put on his priuie coate, came one vnto him, ſaying : Sir, Cortes is nere your lodgyng, let him come in (quoth he) for he cometh to talke with me. Naruaez had his men in foure Towers of his lodgyng, and he himſelfe was in the one, with a hundred Spanyarden, and at his doze thirtene péeses of Ordnance ready charged. Cortes commanded his chiefe Sheriffe Goſalo de Sádoual, with fortye or fiftie of his fellowes, to goe by into Naruaez his Chamber, and he himſelfe with other twentie men abode at the doze to defende and keepe that none might enter thereat, vntil he had finiſhed his buſineſſe. The reſidue of his men beſieged the other Towers, ſo that they might not ſuccoure one another.

Naruaez hearing the noyſe, would needs fighte, although he was required to ſtay his handes, and coming out at his Chamber doze, they ſtrake out one of his eyes with a pike, and then they layde hande vpon hym, dragging and drawyng him downe the ſtayres by the hailes, and when he ſawe hymſelfe broughte befoze Cortes, he ſayde, oh Senior Cortes, thanke your great fortune, in hauing my perſon priſoner : who aunſwered hym againe, oh Naruaez, the hauing of thy body priſoner, is the leaſt thing that I haue done, ſithence I came into thys lande. Cortes commaunded forthwith to lay him in pryſon, and to carrie him to the riche towne of Vera Cruz, where he abode priſoner certayne yeares.

This combat endured but a while, for within one hour

Pamſila

A dark  
night for  
Naruaez.



*Pamfilo de Naruaez* and the chiefeſt of his company were taken priſoners, and their weapons & armour taken from all the reſt. There were ſlayne of *Naruaez* his men ſixtye, and of *Cortes* his ſide were killed only two perſons with a peece of Ordnance. They had no leſſure to giue fire to their Ordnance, with the great diligence and haſt of *Cortes*, ſauing vnto one peece that killed the two men. The tutche holes were ſtopped with ware, though the great raine that had fallen. By this meane thoſe that were overcome, did take occaſion to ymagine that *Cortes* had ſuborned the maiſter gunner, and others.

*Cortes* vſed great ſobrietie and diſcretion, for he would not permitte anye of the priſoners to be reuiled or miſuſed with any iniurious wordes, no nor yet *Naruaez*, who hadde ſpoken ſo much euill of him, although many of hys men deſired reuengement. *Pedro de Maluenda* ſeruaunt to *James Velasques*, who was chiefe ſtelwarde to *Naruaez*, fledde to the Shippes with all the ſtuffe that he coulde gette, without any lette of *Cortes*. Here may you ſee what difference and aduantage is betwixt man and man, what did eache of theſe Captiues ſay, thinke, and doe, ſeldome time dothe happen that ſo fewe of one nation dothe overcome ſo many of the ſame nation, eſpecially the greater number beeing freſh, luſtie, and in a ſtrong holde.

### The Rebellion of Mexico againſt

*Cortes.*



After that *Cortes* had obteyned victorie againſt *Naruaez*, he knew very well the moſt part of his company, vnto whome he ſpake curteouſly, praying them to forget the things paſt, and ſo would hee alſo. And alſo likewiſe, that it mighte please

please them to goe with him to *Mexico*, whiche was the richest Citie of all that *India*. He also restozed to euery man his armour and weapons, whiche were taken from them in their ouerthwoie. He also left very few of them prisoners with *Narnuax*. The Horsemen toke the fieldes with stomacke to fight, but after they had hearde of hys offer, they submitted themselves. In conclusion, all those that were come, hoping of spoyle, were glad to accepte his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promise truly to serue him.

He renewed his powler in *Vera Cruz*, and brought thither the nauie of *Narnuax*. He also dispatched two hundred Spaniards to the riuer of *Garay*, and sent also *Iohn Velasques de Leon* with other two hundred men. To inhabit of *Coazacoaleo*. He dispatched also a Spaniard by post to *Mexico*, with newes of the victoꝝ, and hee himselte followed towarde *Mexico*, with the great care that he had of those whome he had lefte there in guard of *Mutezuma* and the Citie.

The Post that wente on this iourney, in steade of thanks, was sore wounded by the *Indian* Rebelles, but although he was so hurte, yet he returned to *Cortes*, wyth newes that *Mexico* was reuolted, and that they had burned the foure foysses, also assieged the Spanish house, and throwen downe a wall, and myned another, yea and set fire vpon the munition, taken away their dittaples, and had broughte them to suche extremitie, to be eyther slayne, or remayne prisoners, sauing that *Mutezuma* commaunded to ceasse the combate, yea and for all that they woulde not leaue their armour, nor departe from the siege, only they somewhat amayned their furie for theyꝝ princes sake.

These newes were sorrowfull to *Cortes*, for thereby his pleasure was turned into care, the rather to make

hast to succoure his friendes and fellowes, for if he hadde delayed hys coming but a small whyle, he had founde them eyther slayne, or else their bodyes ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comforte was, that *Mutezuma* remayned still prisoner. He mustered his men in *Tlaxcallan*, and founde of his Spanishe nation a thousand footemen, and nere a hundred Horsemen. He proceeded forwardes towardes *Tezcuco*, where he founde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor yet he there was receyued, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a great alteration in the Countrey, and also many towncs without people, or else rebelled. In *Tezcuco* met with him a Spanyarde, whome *Aluarcado* had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie hym of all the premisses, saying moreover, that with his coming their furies woulde be pacified.

With this messenger came another from *Mutezuma*, who declared vnto *Cortes*, that hys Lorde was innocent of all that was done, praying hym, that if he had conceived any euill opinion agaynst hym, to putte away the same agayne, and that it mighte please hym to goe directly to hys own house, where hee abode hys coming, with the Spanishe garde that he hadde left with him, who were alieue and in good health as he hadde left them.


With this message, *Cortes* and hys companye reposed all that nyghte, and the nexte days, beinge Midsummer daye, he entred into *Mexico* at dynner tyme, with hys hundred Horsemen, and the thousande footemen, with a greafe companye of theyr friendes of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huastecincos*, and *Cholollas*, but he saw but few folke in the streets, and small entertaynement, with manye bridges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to hys lodging, and all those of his companye



nye whiche coulde not well bee lodged there, haē sente them to the greate Temple. *Mutezuma* came forth into the yarde to receyue hym, full heaue and sorowfull, as it seemed, of that offence whiche his subiectes had done, excusing hymselfe : and then euery one entred into hys lodgyng and Chamber : but the ioy and pleasure of *Pedro de Aluaredo* was incomparable, saluting the one the other, with demaundes and questions holwe they feared, yea and how much the one company declared of prosperitie and pleasure, the other againe replied as muche of sorow and trouble.

### The causes of the Rebellion.

ortes procured to knowe the principall cause of the insurrection of the *Mexican* Indians, and hauing a generall daye of hearyng, the charge beeyng layde against them, some sayd, that it was through the letters and persuation of *Naruiex* : Others answered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the straungers, accordyng to agremente made, for in theyr skirmishes they cryed nothing but gette you hence, get you hence: Other sayde, that they pretended the libertie of *Mutezuma*, for in theyr Combates they woulde saye, lette goe oure God and Kyng, if you list not to bee slayne. Others sayde, that they were *Chéues*, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, whyrhe was in valewe more than seauen hundred thousande duckettes: Others cryed, here shall you leaue the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others sayde, that they coulde not abyde the syghte of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and other theyr mortall enemies. Manye beleued that the mutinye was for thzowynge downe theyr Goddes and Idolles.

Al. 4.

Cache

each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, how muche more altogether.

But the chiefeest and most principall cause was, that after the departure of Cortes towarde Naruaez, happened a solemne holiday, whiche the *Mexicans* were wont to celebrate, and desiring to obserue the same, as they were wont to do, they came and besoughte Captayne *Aluaro* to graunt them licence, & not to ymagine that they were loyned together to kill the Spaniards. *Aluaro* gaue them licence, with such conditions, that in their Sacrifice shoulde no mans bloude be spilde, nor yet to weare anye weapon.

At this feast, five hundred Gentlemen and principall persons loyned together in the greate temple: some doo saye, that they were more than a thousande persons of greate estate, but that nighte they made a marvellous great noyse, with coznets, shels, clauen bones, where with they made a straunge musicke: they celebrated the feast, their naked bodyes covered with teile, made and wrought with precious stones, collers, girdels, bracelettes, and many other iewels of golde, siluer, and aliofar, with gallant tusses of feathers on their heads. They daunced a daunce called *Mazatzahzeli*, which is to say, deserte wyth payne, and so they call *Mazatzahzeli* a husbandman. This daunce is like *Nezotiliztli*, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they lay mattes in the Temple yerde, and with the sounde of their Drummes, called *Atabals*, they daunce a round, hande in hande, some singing, and others answer, which songs were in hymne and prayse of the God or Saint, whose feast it is, hoping for thys seruice to haue rayne, corne, health, victorie, and chyl-dren, or anye other thing that they maye wishe for, or desire.

After this daunce, they made a great noyse, and then they

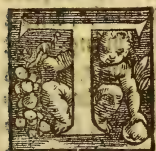


These Indian Gentlemen being occupied in their dauncing and ceremonies, it fortuned that *Pedro de Aluárado* went to the Temple of *Xucilopuchili* to beholde theyr doings, and whether his goyng was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his cōpany I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised howe the mutinie was there conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely goyng to the Temple was to beholde the maruapulous and straunge daunce. And then seying them so richely attyzed, they coueted their Golde and Jewels whiche they were, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spaniardes at each doze, & the Captayne entred in, with fiftie men, and without any Christian respect slew and murdered them al, and tooke from them all their treasure. Although this facte seemed odious vnto *Cortes*, yet he dissimuled the mater, for feare least he shoulde hurte his owne proceedings, as time did then require knowing not, what made he might haue of them, but especially to auoyde contention among his company.

A couerous desire  
and a vile.

### The threatenings of the Mexicans

agaynst the Spaniardes.



The cause of this rebellion, being well known, *Cortes* demaunded how theyr enimies fought, many (quoth they) after they had taken weapōn agaynst vs for the space of ten dayes arow, they neuer ceased with great fury to assaulte and combat our house, and we with feare least *Mutezuma* shoulde escape and flee vnto *Nauahac*, durst not goe out of doores to fight in the streete, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of *Mutezuma*, according to your charge given vnto vs. Also we being but few and the Indians many,

Allis,

who



who still refreshed their men, they did not onely weary vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea and if at the greatest bzunt, *Mutezuma* personally had not ascended to the toppe of our wal, commaunding them if euer they meant to see him alive, to stay and cease from their enterpryse.

At the sight of *Mutezuma* they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They sayde also that with the newes of the victory had agaynst *Pamfilo de Narvaez*, *Mutezuma* requyred his men to leaue off from thez pretence: notwithstandyng, the *Indians* calling to remembraunce, that *Cortes* was coming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the more to doe, began afreshe to assaulte the house, wherevpon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of *Mutezuma*. But it followed, that one day the Spaniards standing in greafe perill, charged their greatest peece of ordinaunce, and gyuing fire, the peece discharged not: the *Indians* seying the same, beganne a freshe with a marvellous terrible noyse, vsing staves, Bowes, lances, & stones that came as thicke as Hayle, saying, now we will wee redeeme our King, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the middelt of thez fury the peece twente of, without any more paymyng or touche, with a greafe and fearefull thunderyng, the peece beyng great and ful of hayle shotte, with the mayne pellotte, made a straunge spoyle among them, and with feare they replyed. But yet they beganne to say, well, well, hostely shall your fleshe be boyled, although wee meane not to eate it, for truly it is very carrayne and good for nothing. But yet we will bestowe the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigres and Snakes, who shal be the granes for your filthy carcases.

But if forthwith ye let not *Mutezuma* departe, and re-

those him to his libertie, ye shall quickly haue your rewarde, for your presumption & pride, who durst be so bold, as to lay hande on *Mutezuma* being our God and Loyde that giueth vs our dayly fode. And yet ye with your filthy thæues handes presumed to touch him, oh why dothe not the earth open & swallow you which taketh other mē's godes? But marke the end, for our Gods whose religion you did profane, will rewarde you according to your desert: & if they do not shortly execute their wrath, then let vs alone, for we will out of hande make an ende of you. And as for those thæues and villaines of *Tlaxcallan* your flauers, shall not depart praysing their gaynes, who nowe presume to take their maisters wiues, ye and to demaund tribute of them, vnto whome they themselues are tributors. These & such like were the wordes of the *Mexicans*. But our men, although they were in a maruelous feare, yet they reprehended their folly as touchyng *Mutezuma*, saying that *Mutezuma* was no God, but a mortall mā as they were, and no better, and that their Gods were vayne idols, and their religion most false and abhominable, and that only our God was holy, iuste, true, and infinite.

### The great extremitie and daunger that

our men were put in by the *Mexicans*.



By hearyng the former talke in defense of the house, and prouiding of things necessary, the night passed away. And in the mornyng to proue the *Mexicans* intent, Cortes commaunded the market to be vsed as in time past. *Aluaro* wished Cortes to

shew himself toward him as agriened & not well pleased, making as though he would apprehend & correct him for the things passed, thinking that *Mutezuma* and his men would



would haue entreated for him. Cortes passed not for that talke, saying that they were infidels, diuelish and wicked people, with whome suche complementes shoulde not be vsed.

But he commaunded a certaine principal Gentleman of Mexico, who stode there presente, that out of hande he should commaunde the market to be furnished as in time past. This Indian vnderstanding that Cortes had spoken euill of them, made as though he went to fulfill his commandement: but he wente to proclayme libertie, publishing the heynous and iniurious wordes whiche he had harde, so that in shorthe space the matter beganne to ware hoate, for some went and brake downe the bridges, others went to call all the Citizens, who ioyned themselues together, and besieged the Spaniardes house, with suche straunge noyse that one coulde not heare another: the stones felle lyke hayle, Dartes and arrowes filled the Spaniardes parde, which troubled them much. Cortes seing this boyle, he with certaine of his men went out at one doore, and another Captayne at another, with eache of them two hundred men. They fought with the Indians, who felle foure Spaniardes, and wounded many moe, and of them twere slayne very fewe with their succor and defence at hande. If our men fought with them in the streates, then would they stoppe their passage at the bridges: if they assaulted their houses, then they were beaten with stones from the toppe of their houses whiche were flatts ruffed, and at their retire they persecuted them terribly.

They sette fire vpon the Spaniardes house in sundry places, but chiefly in one place they coulde not aplane the fire a great whyle, untill they threwo doune certayne chambers and walles, whereas they had entered at pleasure, had it not bene for the Artillerie, Crossebowes and handgunnes, whiche were there in defence of that place.

This



This combat endured all that day untill night, yea and in the night also they had their handes full: our men had little leasure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles and doores, and curing the wounded men who were more than foure score, & likewise to set their men in order & readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

It was no sooner day, but the *Indians* beganne theyr assault a fresh, with more courage and furie than the day before, so that our men were fayne to trust to their artillery, the whiche the *Indians* feared not a whitte: for if a shotte carried ten, fiftene or twentie *Indians* at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missyng. Cortes came out with other two hundred men, and gate some bridges, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the *Indians* were so many in number, that no hurte appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought all the day, yet had they much a doe to defend themselves, how much more to offende. That day neuer a Spaniarde was slayne outright, but three score of them were wounded and hurte, whereby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedy and defence against the hurtes whiche they receyued from the house toppes. They inuented Engines of timber made vpon wheeles, and foure square, couered on the toppe, and with Arte to passe through the Streets: there were placed on each of them twentie men with Pikes, Hargabush, Crossebowes and one double Base. Behinde the Engines went men with shouels and Mattocks, to throwe downe houses, bulworkes, and to rule and gouerne the Engines.

A strange  
invention.

¶

The

## The Conquest of The death of Mutezuma.



Al the while that the Engines were a making, our men came not out to fight, being occupied in the worke, but onely to defende their lodgyng. The enimies thinking that they were all sore hurte and wounded, beganne their warres agayne, reuilyng them with many iniurious wordes, thyeatnyng them, that if they would not deliuer *Mutezuma*, that they would giue them the moste cruell death that cuer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entred the house.

*Cortes* desired *Mutezuma* to goe vp into the totte, which is the toppe of the flatte rouse of the house, and to commaunde his subiectes to ceasse from their heate and furie. At *Cortes* his request he wente vp, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginnyng to speake vnto them, they threw so many stones out of the streete, houses and windowes, that one happened to hitte *Mutezuma* on the temples of his head, with whiche blowe he fell downe to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the handes of his owne subiectes and bassalles agaynst theyr willes: for the truth is that a Spaniarde helde a Target ouer his head, wherby they knew him not, nor yet would beleue that he was there, for all the signes and tokens whiche were made vnto them. *Cortes* forthwith published the hurte and daunger of life of *Mutezuma*: some gaue credite to his tale, and other some would not, but rather sought very stoutly. *His* vapes *Mutezuma* remained in extreme payne, and at the ende departed his life.

And bicause it shoulde appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurte receiued at their hands, he caused two gentlemē of *Mexico*, who were ppysoners, to carry him out vpon their backs,

who



who certified the Citizens of the certentie of his death, that at that presente time were giuyng battery to the house. But yet for all this they woulde not leaue off the combat, nor yet the warres, as some of our men thought they woulde, but rather proceeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they rested, they made a pitifull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in *Chapultepec*. On this sorte died *Mutezuma*, who was holden for a God among the *Indians*. Some say that he desired to be Baptised at the Shroue tide before his death, and they prolonged the matter, thin king at Easter following to haue christened him with honour and triumph. But as it happened, it had bene better to haue done it at that time according to his request. But with the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* the thyng was also delayed, and after hee was wounded it was likewise forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credibly enformed, that *Mutezuma* was neuer consentyng to the death of any Spaniarde, nor yet in conspiracie agaynst *Cortes*, but rather loued him entierly: yet some are of an other opinion, and bothe giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not wel be knowen, for at that tyme our men vnderstode not the language, and agayne *Mutezuma* after his death, leste none to open that secreete.

The *Indians* affirme that he was of the greatest blood of all his linage, and the greatest kyng in estate, that euer was in *Mexico*. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdomes do most flourish, then are they niest to a chage, or else to change their Lorde, as doth appeare in this history of *Mutezuma*. Our men lost more by the death of *Mutezuma* than the natural *Indians*, if we consider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. *Mutezuma* was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious



as other *Indians*, although he had many wiues. He was also liberal and free harted: he was esteemed for a very wise man, in my iudgement he was epyther wise in lettynge things passe after that sorte, or else a very foole, that did not vnderstande their doings: he was as deuoute as warlike, for he had bene presente in many battayles: it is reported that he wanne and had victorie in nine battayles, & also other nine times victorie man for man in the fildes, he reygned seuentene yeares and certaine moneths,

The combat betweene the Spaniards and the Indians.



After the death of *Mutezuma*, Cortes sente vnto his speewes, and to the other noblemen who mainteyned the warres, desiring the to come and speake with him, and they came, vnto whome Cortes spake from the wall where *Mutezuma* was slayne, saying, that it were mete that they should cease from warre, and to chose another king, and also to burie the dead, and that he woulde come to his buriall as his friende: likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto *Mutezuma* who had intreated for them, he had stayed from the finall spoyle of the cittie, & correction of them for their rebellion and obstinacie. But now that he had not vnto whome to haue respect, he woulde bothe burne their houses, and chassen them, if that they submitted not themselves to his friendship.

They answered, that they woulde neyther leaue the warres, nor yet escheue his friendship, vntill they saw themselves in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reueged, yea and that without his counsell they coulde elect the king vnto whom of right & kingdome did apertaine. And

And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloued *Mutezuma*, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as vnto such a King doth apperteyne: yea and if he would goe and beare his friend *Mutezuma* company to the Gods, that then he should come forth, and they would quickly dispatch him: and as for the residue, they would haue rather warre thā peace, yea and that they were not menne that did yeelde with wordes. Also seeing their King was dead, for whose respecte they ceased to burne their houses, roste their bodies, and eate their fleshe, but now (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not dally long time with you.

*Cortez* finding them stout and stubbozne, liked not the bargain. Againe, he knewe well that their meaning was, that if they hadde departed from the Citie, to haue spoyled and murdered them by the way. And seeing that their liues, rule and gouernement consisted in strength of hand and good courage, he came forth in a morning with the three engines, foure peeces of Ordnance, and five hundred Spaniards, and three thousand *Tlaxcaltecas*, to fighte with the enemies, and to burne and spoyle their houses. They broughte the engines nere vnto certaine greate houses whiche stode nere vnto a bridge, casting they scaling ladders on the walles, and so gotte vp to the toppes where manye people were, and there combated awhile, but shortly turned to their forte againe, without doing any greate hurte, with one Spaniarde slayne, and manye wounded, and also the engines broken and spoyled, yea the multitude of *Indians* were so thicke, and selue vpon the Ordnance in suche sorte, that they had no leysure to discharge them. The stones came also so thicke from the house toppes, that the engines were sone at an ende. And the Citizens hauing housed them againe in the forte and lodging, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recouer the streets that were lost: also a great

Temple, in the Tower whereof, five hundred principall men hadde fortified themselues wyth vittayles, stones, and long Launces, piked with yron and flint stone verpe sharp, but truly they did most hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue before declared, and stode nere vnto the Spanyardes forte, whiche from that tower receiued muche hurt. Although Cortes was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceassed not like a good Captayne to comfort and encourage his menne, and alwayes was the firste man at any bunt or assay, and hys heart coulde not permitte him to remaine penned vp in that fort, wherefore he toke thre hundred Spanyardes, and went to assiege the high tower. Thre or foure dayes he ceassed not that enterpryse, but coulde not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and manye persons in defence of the same, well prouided, with fitte munition for the purpose, so that our men came dayly tumbling downe the stappes, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spanyardes dysmayed more and more, and many murmured at the matter: you may well iudge howe Cortes his heart was afflighted, for the Indians encreased still in courage, hauing the better hand, and dayly victoory from the high Tower. But now Cortes determined to leaue his house, and not to returne therevnto agayne, vntill he had worne the Tower. He bounde his Target to his arme whiche had bin hurt before, and besieged the Tower agayne with many of his men, *Tlaxcaltecas* and other friends, and many times, although they were beaten downe, arose agayne, succozing one another, tyll at length they got to the toppe, and there foughte with the Indians, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stood hanging vpon the liffes of the wall, which were thre in number, the one higher than the other, and a foote broad. Some fell downe to the ground, who besides their fallles, were


A valiant  
man:



were receyued vpon the swordes poynt, and in this sorte they left none alive. Thre houres they fought on the top of the Tower, bycause y<sup>e</sup> multitude of *Indians* wer great. In conclusion, the whole five hundred men there dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had bin equall, the victo<sup>ry</sup> had bin doubtfull. Cortes set fire on all the Chappels, and other thre Chappels, where infinite Idols were, yet those sely *Indians* lost no poynte of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touched them at the hearte, but rather began with moze furie to assault the Spanish house.

### Hovv the Mexicans refused the offer

of peace made by Corce<sup>x</sup>

 Cortes considering the great multitude of *Indians* his enimies, and also the greate courage, with desire of reuengement : and waying also how his men were weake and wcerped with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe fro thence, if that the Citizens would haue suffered them : he began againe to require them with peace, and to desire them of truce, saying vnto them also, that they should consider, how that many of their side were slayne, and yet they coulde kill none of them. They beeing moze hard harted than befoze, answered that they utterly refused his offer, saying, that they neuer woulde haue peace with those who had slained their men and burned their Gods : pea (quoth they) and although some of vs are killed, yet wee also do both kill and hurt, for ye are mortall men, and not immortall, as we are : beholde ye also the number of vs, vpon *Zories*, in windowes and streetes : assure youre selues there are thre tymes as manie within the houses. So wee shall sooner make an ende of you by kyl-  
lyng one and one, than you shall doe of vs by killing

killing a thousande by thousande, or ten thousand by ten thousand: for ending all these whome you see, there will come so many more, and after them so many more: but if ye were once killed, there would come no more Spaniards, yea and when our weapons can not thoroughly destroy you, that then we will sterue you to death with hunger and famine, yea and though now you would depart, it is too late, because y<sup>e</sup> bridges are throwen downe, and the calles broken, and succoure by water you haue none. In this communications the daye was spent, and night at hand, their heads occupied, and heartes full heauie, for hunger alone hadde bin ynough to finish theyr dayes, without any further warre. That night, the one halfe of the number of Spaniards armed themselves, and late in the euening came forth into the Citie. The *Indians* now being not accustomed to fight at such houres, the Spaniards burned aboue thre hundred houses in one stræte, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whome they left not one aliue. They burned and spoiled thre *Zoties* nere vnto their owne lodging, whiche hadde greatly annoyed them before. The residue of the Spaniards whiche abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney hapned well vnto them, early in the morning they proceeded out againe, and wente to the bridge where their engins hadde bin broken, and although they founde there greate resistance, yet the matter imported their liues. They fought with noble courage, and gotte many towers, houses and *Zoties*. They wanne also four of the eyght bridges which were in the Citie, leauing gard in those places whiche were wonne, returning to their Campe with many woundes, being both weery and full of care and sorrow. The next daye they came forth againe, and wanne the other foure bridges, and dammed them by with earth, in  
such

such sorte, that the *Indians* that way followed the enimies to the firme lande. *Cortez* being occupped in damming vp the ditches, and making plaine way of the bridges, there came certayne messengers vnto him, saying, that nere at hand, abode many noblemen and Captaines to treat of peace, requiring hym to come vnto them, praying hym to bring *Tlamacazque* his prisoner, who was one of the principallest of the *Diuels*. *Cleargie* there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

*Cortez* wente, and carried the Priest with him, whome he appoynted to require them to cease from contention, and to remoue their siege, but he came not backe wpyth answer. All thys was a fained fetch, to see the state of the *Christian* Campe, or else to recouer their religious *Tlamacazque*. *Cortez* sayng they decepte, wente hys way to dinner, and was no soner sette at hys meate, but certayne *Tlaxcaltecas* came running in with an open crye, saying, that theyz enimies hadde recovered agayne the bridges, and wente armed vp and downe the strêtes, and hadde also slayne the most of the *Spanyarden* that were lesse in garde of the bridges. Incontinent *Cortez* wente out with the *Indians*, who were readiest at that tyme, and made way through the troupe of enimies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at theyz retorne, the footemen that were hurt and wôrtied in keeping of the strête, coulde not suffeyne the force and furie of the infinite number of *Indians*, whyche came vpon them, yea with muche adoe they coulde escape home to their forte. The multitude was not so greate of *Indians* in the strête, but also by water in *Canals*, so that stones flew on both sydes, and galled oure men cruelly. *Cortez* was hurte in one of hys knees very sore, wherevpon it was blotten abroade through the Citie, that *Cortez* was slayne, whiche newes byd greatly discourage our men,



and much animate the *Indians*. But yet Cortes for all hys payne and hurt, ceased not to embolden & encourage hys Souldyers, who set afreshe vpon the enemies. At the farthest brydge fel two Horses, which troubled muche our men that followed. Cortes made suche way among the *Indians*, that the Horsemen hadde reasonable passage, and beeyng y<sup>e</sup> hindmost man himselfe, he was in great peril of taking. It was a maruell to see what a spring he gaue with hys Horse, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, beeyng very late.

As soone as he had ended his supper, he sente some of his men to gard the strēte and brydges, and to defend the same againste the enemye. They were somewhat ioyfull of their proceedings and good successe whiche they hadde the same day.

### Hovve Cortez fledde from

*Mexico.*



At Cortes waying the substance of the matter, saue in effeate that his syde wente to wyacke, wherefoze he requested hys menne to departe from thence, who were not a little ioyfull to heare their Capayne pronounce that saying, for few or none of them escaped unhurt and wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomacke and heart to dye. The *Indians* were so many, that if the Chyistians shoulde but onely haue cutte their throttes without resistance, yet they had bin too few for that purpose.

They were also in suche necessitie of bread, that pinched them sore. Their powder and shotte was spent, and almost all other prouision. Their house was welnigh beaten

beaten downe about their eares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue *Mexico*, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euill case, to turne their backs to their enimies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth vp against hym that flyeth. They feared to gayne the passage of the arches where the brydges hadde bin, so that now they were full besetted with sorrow, care, and misery: but in fyne, they all agreed to departe that night, for many dayes before, one of their companie called *Borella*, who presumed to haue god skyll in the Arte of *Pygromacie*, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from *Mexico* at a certayne houre appoynted, that then they shuld escape, or else not: but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to departe that night, and like vnto politike and good Souldyers, they prepared a brydge of timber to carrie wyth them, to passe ouer the arches where brydges hadde bin. This is most certayne, they were all priuie and agréde to the departure, and not as some report, that *Cortes* fledde away, leauing aboue two hundred Spanyardes in the house, who knewe nothing of hys departure, and were afterwarde all slayne, sacrificed, and eaten in *Mexico*, for out of the Citie he coulde not haue departed so secretly, but it shoulde haue come to their eares: howe muche more out of one house, where they were all together.

*Cortes* called *John de Guzman* hys Chamberlayne, commaunding him to open the hall where the treasure was, and called all the officers and others, to see the distribution of the same. First the kings portion was deducted, and he gaue a Horse of his owne, and men to carrie it: and for the remainder, he willed euery man to take what he liked, for he gaue it frankly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with *Naruaez*, & now serued *Cortes*, were



Reuarde  
of a coue-  
nous mind.

Some what hungry of treasure, so that they toke as much golde and other riches, as they myghte possible carrie, but it cost them deere, for at their going out of the Citie, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they coulde neyther fighte, nor yet make hast on their way, vpon whiche occasion, the *Indians* taught many of them, and drewe them by the heeles to the slaughterhouse of Sacrifice, where they were slayne and eaten: yet those that escaped, had eache of them some profyte, for that pray was well worth seauen hundred thousand Ducketes: but beeyng things wrought in greate paces, they were troublousome to carrie, so that he whiche carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remayned in that house a great parte of the treasure, but it was not so, for after our men had taken what they would, then came in the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and made spoyle of all the rest.

Cortes gaue charge to certayne of his meime, to garde with much respect, a sonne and two daughters of *Muteczuma*, *Cacama*, and his brother, and manie other greafe Gentlemen his prisoners.

He also appoynted other fortieme to carrie the bridge of timber, and other *Indians* to carrie the Ordinance, and a little grayne of *Cenil* that remayned.

The vantagegarde he committed to *Gonsalo de Sandoval*, and *Antonio de Quiniones*: and the reregarde he committed to *Pedro de Aluaredo*, and he hymselfe remayned with a hundred men, to vse his discretion. In this order, and with good deliberation, at midnight he departed from *Mexico* in a darke myst, and so quietly, that none of the *Indians* knewe thereof, commending themselves vnto *G. D.* beseeching hym in theyr prayers, to deliuer them from that presente daunger, and toke the way of *Tlacopan*, beeyng the same way that he came into the Citie.

¶

¶

The



The firste arche whereof the bridge was throwen downe, they passed with the timber bridge whiche they carried with them at ease.

In this meane time the watche and espies which warred in the hiest temples, had descried their flight, and began to sounde their instruments of warre with a marvellous crie, saying, they die, they die: And sodenly with this noise, they having no armour to put on, nor other impediment, ioyned an infinite company of them together, and followed with greate celeritie, yea and with such a heape and terrible noise, that all the lake pronounced the Echo, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slayne, who hath done vnto vs such great hurte.

But when Cortes came to plante his bridge vpon the second arche of the Cittie, there mette him a greate company of Indians to defende the same, yet with much adoe he planted his bridge and passed ther vpon with five horsemen and a hundred Spaniards, and with them proceeded through the Calley to the mayne lande passing many perilous places, wherein swamme both man and horse, for the bridge of timber was broken: this done, he leste his forte meane on the firme lande, vnder the gouernement of *Alon Xaramillo*, and returned backe with the five horsemen for to succour and helpe the residue of his company whiche were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he found some fighting with great courage, but many slaine. He lost also his golde and sardage, his ordinance and prisoners, yea in fine he founde a marvellous change and alteration of the estate he leste them in, where vpon like a good Captayne he shewed his wisdom and valour, helping and recovering as many of his men, as he myght, and brought them into safetie. He leste also Captayne *Aluarez* to succour the reste.

But *Aluarez* with all his power and strength could

not resist the fury of the enimies, wherefore with the Lance in his hande he beganne to sie, seyng the greates slaughter of his company, so that hee was forced to passe ouer the dead carcases, yea and vpon some that were not thoroughly dead, who made a lamentable, pittifull, and dolefull mone. And commyng to the next arche, whose boordge was broken downe, of necessitie he tooke hys Lance, and therewith leaped suche a space, that the *Indians* were amased to see, for none of his fellows could doe the like, although they approued the enterpryse, and were drownded for their labour.

When Cortes saue this sorrowfull sight, he sate hym downe, not to take any rest for his wearinesse, but only to bewaile the dead men, yea and also them that were alieue and in greate daunger, and also to ponder the vnstedfastnesse of cruell fortune in the perdition of so many his friends, such great treasure and lordshippe, so greates a Citie and Kingdome, but also to bewaile the sorrowfull estate that he himselfe stood in, seyng the moste of his men wounded & hurte, and knowyng not whither to goe, for that he was not certayne of the helpe and friendship of *Tlaxcaltecas*. Yea and what harde hart, woulde not haue relented to behold the dead bodies, who a litle before had entred that same way, with suche magnificall triumphe, pompe and pleasure. But yet hauing care of those whom he had lefte on the firme lande, he made haste to *Tlacopan*.

This sorrowfull night, which was the tenth of July, in *An. 1520.* were slaine aboute. 450. Spaniards, 4000. *Indian* friends, and. 46. horse, yea & (as I iudge) all the prisoners which were in his company. If this mishap had fortuned in the day tyme, possible so many and so great a number had not perished. But where it fortuned by night, the noyse of the wounded was sorrowfull, & of the victors horrible and feareful. The *Indians* cried victorie, calling vpon their



their diuelish and filthy Goddes with ioy & pleasure, our men being ouercome, cursed their vnsfortunate lot, yea the howler, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for succour, others sayd helpe, help, for I stande in daunger of dyotoning. I know not certainly whether moe perished in the water or the lande, hoppyng to saue themselves by swimming and leapyng ouer the fluces and broken places, for they say, that a Spaniarde was no sooner in the water, but an *Indian* was vppon his backe. They haue great dexterity & skill in swimming, so that catching any Spaniarde in the water, they would take him by the one arme, and carrie him whither they pleased, yea & would vnpanch him in the water. If these *Indians* had not occupied themselves in taking the spoyle of those that were fallen and slaine, certainly one Christian had not escaped that day: but in fine, the greatest number of Spaniards that were killed, were those that went mosse laden with golde plate and other iewels, & those whiche escaped, were they that carried least burdens, & the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of *Indians*.

Nowe wee may safely say, that the conetous desire of gold, wherof they had plenty, was cause of their death, and they may answere that they died riche. After that those, whiche had escaped, were passe the calley, the *Indians* stayed and folloved them no further, eyther for, that they contented themselves with that whiche they had done, or else they durst not fight in open fields: But principally it is thought, that they abode to mourne and lament for the death of *Matezuma* his chyldren, not knowing till then their sorrowfull ende. But nowe seying the thyng present before their eyes, they wrang theyr hands, and made a pittifull dole and crie, and the rather, because they themselves had layne them against their willes.

The



The battayle of Otumpan, a notable victory.



The Inhabitants of *Tlacopan*, knewe not how our men came (poyle) buried, and overthrewen, and againe our men stode in a maze, and knew not what to doe nor whither to goe. *Cortez* came vnto them, & comforted them & placed them in order before him, requyring them to make hatt, vntill they might come into the broad field, before such tyme, as the men of *Tlacopan* should heare of the newes passed, & so to arme themselves and to ioyne with fourtie thousande *Mexicans*, who after the mourning for their friends, came marching after them. He placed in the vanguard the *Indians* his friends, and passed through certayne fild grounde, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a towre and a Temple, whiche is called our Lady church at this day.

The *Indians* slewe some of the *Spaniards* whiche came in the reregard, and many of their *Indian* friends, before they could get vp to the toppe of the hill. They losse muche of the golde, that had remainned, and with greater hazarde escaped through the multitude of *Indians* with life, their hozles whiche remainned aliue, were foure and twentie, who were tyred both with trauell and hunger, & the *Spaniards* their maisters, with the residue coulde scarcely stirre hande or foote with wearinesse of fighting, and penurie of hunger, for al that day and night they rested not from fight, eating nothing at all.

In this Temple were reasonable lodgings, where they fortified themselves as well as they myght, and dranke one to an other, but they supper was very slender. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld

A very  
journey.

an infinite number of *Indians*, whiche had beset them almost round about, making a marvellous shout and crie, knowing that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre worser than to fight with the enimie. They made many fires with the woodde of sacrifice, rounde about the tower and Temple, & with this policie, at midnight departed secretly. It happened that they had *Tlaxcalteca* to be their guide, who knew well the way, assisting by bringing them into the iurisdiction of *Tlaxcallan*: with this guide they began to iourney. *Cortes* placed his wounded men and fardage in the midst of his company, the soldiers that were whole and in health, he deuised into the vanguard & reregarde: he could not passe so secretly, but y they were espied by the *Indian* scout, whiche was neare at hand, who gaue aduise therof incōtinent. Five horsemen which went befoze to discouer, fell among certayne companies of *Indians*, which attended their coming to robbe the, & seeing the horsemen, they suspected that the whole army was at hand, wherupon they fled, but yet seeing them few in number stode and ioynd with the other *Mexicans* that followed & pursued our men thre leagues vntil they came to a hill where was an other temple with a good tower & lodging, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the morning from thence, and wente through a cragged & naughty way, to a great towne the inhabitants whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two daies to rest theselues, to cure their men, & horses: also they somewhat eased their hungry stomakes and carried fro thence prouision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed fro thence, many enimies pursued them & persecuted them very sore. Likewise y guide erred out of his way, & at length came to a little village of few houses, where they reposed y night. In the morning they proceeded vpon their way, and the

Alpaynesq  
nian.

Do,

enimies



Cortes  
wounded  
with a  
dying.

Oh noble  
Cortes.

enimies still pursuing and troubled them soze all the day. Cortes was wounded with the stripe of a sling, and there-  
with was in greate daunger of life, for his head so ranc-  
bled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out cer-  
taine peces of his skull, wherupon he was dzien to seek  
a solitarie place in the wildernesse to cure him, and in  
goyng thitherwardes, the enimies wounded five Spa-  
niardes and foure hozses, whereof one died, and that was  
eaten among them for a sumptuous supper, and yet not  
sufficient for them all, for there was none of them whiche  
were not vexed with hunger. I speake not of their  
woundes and wearinesse, things sufficient to haue made  
an ende of lyfe. But certainly the Spanishe nation can  
abide moze hunger than any other, and especially these  
with Cortes dyd shewe the pofe. The nexte day in the  
mornyng departing from a litle Village, and fearyng the  
multitude of enimies, Cortes commaunded eche hozsleman  
to take a sicke mame behinde him, and those that were  
somewhat stronger, to holde by the hozse tayles and stir-  
ropes: he likewise made cruches for other some to ease  
them, and woulde not leaue one of his men behinde him  
to be a pray and supper for the Indian enimies. This ad-  
uise was very profitable as things fell out, yea also there  
were some of them that carried vpon their backe their  
fellowes, & thereby were saued. They had not iourneyed  
a full league into a playne fielde, when there mette them  
an infinite number of Indians who compassed them round  
about, and assaulted our men in such sozte, that they be-  
rily belaued that day to ende generally their liues, for  
there were many Indians that durst wassell with our  
men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the duste,  
and dzeue them by the heles, whether it were with the  
great courage whiche they had, or whether it were with  
the traunyle, hunger and hurtles of our men I know not,  
but



but great pittie it was to see, how they were drawn by the Indian enemies, and what grievous mone they made.

Cortes that wente with vigilant care comfortyng his men, as muche as was possible to doe, and well perusing the great daunger that they were in, commendyng himselfe to God, sette spurres to his horse and made way thorough the greatest troupe of Indians, and came vnto the captayne generall who bare the Royall Standart of Mexico, and passed him through with his Lance, whereof he incontinent died. But when the Indians sawe the standart fallen, they threwe their auncient on the grounde and fled, scattering them here and there like men amazed, knowing not whither to fly, for such is their custome in warre, that when they see the generall slayne, they forthwith leaue the fielde. Then our wery soules began to recover hart and strenght, and the horsemen followed the to their great anoyance and slaughter. It was credibly reported, that there were that day in fielde, 200000 Indians. And the fielde where this battayle was fought is called Otumpam: there was neuer a more notable facte done in India, nor greater victorie since the first discovery of the same. And as manye Spaniards as sawe Hernando Cortes fighte that day, did holde opinion, that neuer one man did more greater feates in armes, and that he only was the meane in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

Oh vallant  
Cortez.

200000  
Indians.

### The entertaynement vvhiche the

Spaniards had in Tlaxcallan.



After this victorie obtayned, Cortes with his company went to lodge in a house planted alone, in a playne ground, from whence appeared theountaynes of Tlaxcallan, whereat our menne muche reioyced: yet

Do. 11.

51

on the other side they stood in doubt whether they should finde them their friends in such a dangerous season, for because the vnsfortunate man that flieth, findeth nothing in his fauour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night Cortes himselfe was scoute, not because he was moze whole than his fellowes, but like a good Captayne, he deuised the trauayle & paynes equally, euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iourneyed in plaine and straight way, directly to the Mountaynes and Province of *Tlaxcallan*, they passed by a sweete fountaine of water, where they wel refreshed themselves, and after they came to *Huazilipan*, a towne of *Tlaxcallan*, of 4000 households, where they were louingly receiued & abundantly provided for three dayes, whiche they abode there refreshing & curing their weary bodies. Some of the townes men would giue them nothing without payment, but the moste parte did vse them very gently: Unto this towne came *Maxixca*, *Xicotencatl*, *Axotecatl*, and many other principall persons of *Tlaxcallan*, and *Huexotzinca* with 50000 men of warre, who were going to *Mexico* to succour the Spaniards, knowyng of their troubles, but not of their hurte and spoyle, yet some holde opinion that they hauyng certayne knowledge of all they misshappes and flight from *Mexico*, came only to comforte them, and in the name of all they comunaltie and state, to offer them their Towne, in conclusion, they seemed sorrowfull for their misfortunes, and a gayne ioyfull to see them there: Yea some of them with anguiste of harte wepte, and sayde, we did aduise and warne ye, that the *Mexicans* were Traytors and wicked persons; and yet ye would not beleue vs: we doe pittie and bewaile your troubles; but if it please you, lette vs goe thither to reuenge your iniuries, and the death of your Christians, and our Citizens; and if now ye will

sayetholl  
friends.



will not, that then it may please you to goe with vs home to our houses, for to recreate your persons, and to cure your woundes.

Cortes did cordially reioyce, to heare and finde such succour and friendship, in such good men of warre, whereof he stood in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them most hartie thanks for their louing offer, curtesie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of such Jewels as remained, and sayd vnto them, the time will come, that I shall desire your helpe against the *Mexicans*, but now presently it is needefull, to cure my sicke and wounded men.

The noble men that were there present, besought him to giue them leaue to skirmish with the *Indians* of *Culhua*, for as yet many of them wandered there aboute. Cortes graunted their request, and sente with them some of his men which were lustie, and in good health, who proceeded forth all together, and in that iourney slewe many *Indian* enimies, so that after this time, the enimies appeared no more. Then with triumph, pleasure, and victory, they departed toward the Citie, and oure men followed. It is credibly reported, that twenty thousande men and women met them by the way with sundry kindes of meates: I do beleue that the most of them came to see them, for the great loue whiche they bare vnto them, and likewise to enquire of their friends which had gone with them to *Mexico*, of whome few returned. In *Tlaxcallan* they were honorably receiued, and well bled. *Maxicca* gaue his house to Cortes, and the residue of his company were housed at Gentlemens houses, who cherished them exceedingly, wherby they forgate the paynes, sorrowes, and trauels past, for in fiftene dayes before, they lay on the bare ground.

Certainely the *Spaniards* were much indebted to the *Tlaxcaltecas*, for their loyalty and faithfull friendship.

Do. 14.

especially



especially vnto that god and vertuous Gentleman *Maxica*, who thylwe *Xicotencatl* downe the stappes and steppes of the chiefe Temple, for giuing his counsell to kyll the Spanyardes, meaning to reconcile hymselfe with the *Mexicans*.

He also made two Orations, the one to the men, and the other to the women, in the greate fauoure and prayse of the Spanyardes, putting them in remembrance, howe that they hadde not eaten salt, nor woone cloth of cotton woll in many yeares befoze, vntil now that their friends were come: and to this day these *Indians* doe muche presume of their fidelitie, and likewise of the resistance and battayle they made with *Cortes* in *Teotaxinco*, so that now when they celebrate any great feast, or receyue any Christian bisking, there cometh of them out into the field sixtie or seauentie thousande men, to skirmishe and fight in the same order as they did with *Cortes*:

### The protestation and request of the Souldyers to *Cortes*.



When *Cortes* departed firste from *Tlaxcallon* towarde *Mexico* to visit *Matezuma*, he lefte there twentie thousande Castilians of golde and moe, besides the Kings portion which was sent with *Monteio* and *Portocarrero*. He lefte there also manye other things if neede should haue happened in *Mexico* of money, or other things to prouide his men in *Vera Cruz*, and this he lefte there also, to proue the fidelitie of his friendes in *Tlaxcallon*. And after he had obteyned the victorie against *Naruaez*, he wrote vnto the Captayne that he should sende for the same, for reason required that in all things they should haue their partes.

The Captaine of *Vera Cruz* sente fiftie *Spampardes* and fine *Horsemen* for the same, who at their returne, were slayne and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by 5 men of *Culhua* who had rebelled through the coming of *Pamfilo de Narvaez*, robbing and spoiling sundrye dayes. But when *Cortez* understode this newes, his joy was turned to sorrowe, not onely for the golde and treasure so muche, as for the losse of his menne, fearyng also some other warre or bypzoze to haue bin in the riche Towne of *Vera Cruz*, whereupon hee sente a messenger thither, who returned in shoyte time, certifying that all the inhabitantes there were in good health, and also all the *Comarcans* quiet, and without any token of alteration. This newes and answer pleased *Cortez* and all his company, whiche desired to goe thither, but he woulde not permitte them, wherefoze they began to murmur and to exclaime, saying, what thinketh *Cortez*, what meaneth he to doe with vs: why, will he keepe vs heere to dye an euill death: what haue we offended him, that he will not let vs goe: we are alreadye full of wearinesse, our bodies are yet full of fresh woundes, we haue spent our bloude, and are now withoute strength and apparell: we see oure selues in a straunge Countrey, and full of miserie, environed with enemies, yea and without hope to come to that hygh place from whence we fell, yea then mighte wee hee accounted for worse than madde men, to come into the perils from whence wee escaped: we meane not now to ende oure lynes so desperately, as he would haue vs, for with the insatiable thirste of honour and glorie, hee esteemeth not his life, neyther oures. He doth not lykethe consider, that he wanteth menne, horses, artillerie, and armour, things so necessarye for the warres, yea he also wanteth victuall, whercho is a thyng moste principall: what shall we save,

Exclamation.

but

but that, he erreth, and is deceyued, in giuing credite to these *Tlaxcaltecas*, who are, like vnto the other nations of *India*, which are light, changeable, and louers of newe things, yea and rather, in effecte of troth, they better loue the *Culhuacans*, than the Spanishe nation, yea and although they nolve dissemble, yet when they shall see a greate army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer vs aliue, to be eaten, and sacrificed, for it is an olde rule, that friendship dothe not long endure betwixte them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and speech.

After all these complayntes and murmurations amōg themselves, they made a protestation and request, in forme as it were in the name of the King and all the company, praying him incontinent to departe frō thence, and to goe with them to the Towne of *Vera Cruz*, befoze the enemies mighte disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remayne both bought and solde, and shutte vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Vera Cruz* they should haue better oportunitie to make themselves strong, if that he meante to returne agayne vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if so it shoulde seeme conuenient.

*Cortes* hearing this request, and determination of hys Souldyers, was at his wits ende, ymagining that they pretended was, onely to procure him to goe from thence, and afterwardes to rule him at their pleasures, and bearing a thing cleane contray to his pretended purpose, he answered them as followeth.

The



## The Oration made by Cortez in an

*swere to his Souldyers demande.*

**M**asters, I would do and fulfill your request, if it were a thing more and convenient for you, for there is not one alone of you, how much more all in general, for whom I should not willingly adventure my goods and life, if he should

need the same: for why? your deeds have bin such, that I stand bound never to forget the, or else to shewe my selfe an ingratefull man. And thinke you not good friends, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therefore I esteeme not your authoritie: but in not granting to the same, I do exalt and esteeme you in greater reputation: for why? in our departing nowe from hence, our honor is blotted and stayned for ever more, and in abiding here, we shall like valiant men preserve the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominion, and Empire in this world, that hath not bin overcome at some time: What famous Captayne returned home to his house, for the losse of one battayle? none truly, for he that dothe not perseuer, shall never triumph with Lady Victorie: he that retyreth, sheweth that he feareth, and remaineth a mockingstocke for all men: but he that sheweth nobly his face, dothe offer the courage of his heart, yea and is both feared, and also beloved.

If we now should depart from hence, these our friends would accept and iudge vs for cowards, and refuse personally our friendship. Likewise our enemies would iudge the same, and never hereafter stande in feare of vs, which should be a greate shame vnto our estimation. Is there any among vs, that would not holde himselfe

pp.

affrented.

affrented, if it shoulde be sayde, that he turned his backe and fledde, how much moze woulde it be a dishonoz for vs all to haue the same report :

I doe muche maruell at the greatenesse of your inuincible heartes in battell: you were wont to be desirous of warres, and nowe that suche iust and laudable warre both offer it selfe, you doe feare and refuse the same: sure it is a thing cleare contrary to oure nature. What is he that will prate of harnes, and neuer ware none ? It was neuer yet seene in all this *India* and new world, that any of our nation retired with feare. And woulde you nowe that it shoulde be said, that *Cortes* and his company fledde, being in securitie, and without perill or daunger : I beseech God not to permitte any suche thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame: why then ? what better thyng woulde you desire, than to be here in *Tlaxcallan* in despite of all your enemies, yea proclaiming open warres against them, and they not dare to annoy vs: Therefore you may well consider, that here you are more sure than if you were from hence, so that here in *Tlaxcallan* you are honored with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue all things necessary for physick and medicine to cure your wounds and obteyne your health: yea, and I am bolde to saye, that if you were in your owne naturall Countrey, you should not haue the like, nor yet be so much made off,

I do nowe meane to send for our men that are in *Cotacaco* and *Almeria*, and so we shall haue a reasonable army: yea and although they come not, we are sufficient, for we were fewe in number when first we entred into this Countrey, haying no friendes : and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue sene one of you discomfite a whole army, as *Jonathas* did, yea and many among



among you haue had victory against a thousand, yea ten thousand Indians, as King *Dauid* had against the *Philistines*. I looke dayly for Horses from the Ilandes, and other armour and artillerie we shall haue from *Vera Cruz*. And as for vittayles, take you no care, for I will prouide you abundantly, for they are thinges that alwayes followe the Conquerours: and as for these Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*, I binde my selfe that you shall finde them trustie, loyall, and perpetuall friends, for so they haue promised me vpon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better oportunitie of time could they haue wished, thā these latter dayes, where as we lay sicke in their owne beddes and houses, yea some of vs lame, wounded, and in manner rotten, and they like louing friends haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they woulde rather chōse to be your slaves, than subiectes to the *Mexicans*: theyr hatred is suche to them, and their loue so great to you. And bycause you shall see the troth, I will now proue them and you, againste these of *Tepeacac*, who slewe of late dayes twelue Spanyardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I followe youre request, and if it please God that it happen well, then will I entreate and pray you to followe my counsell.

The Souldyers hearing this comfortable spēche, began to lay aside their desire to goe from thence to *Vera Cruz*. They answered generally, that they woulde obey his commaundemente, it shoulde seeme with the promise made, touching the successe of the victory in *Tepeacac*, and lightly seldome it happeneth, that a Spanyard saith no, when he is required to goe on warfare, for it is holden for a dishonour and shame.

Ep. ij.

The



## The vvarres of Tepeacac.



Cortes found himselfe at hearts ease with this answer, for it was a thing y had much troubled him: & vndoubtedly if he had followed his fellowes demand, he shoulde neuer haue recovered *Mexico* agayne, & they likewise had bin slayne in the way towards *Vera Cruz*, for they hadde manye perillous places to passe. Each one of them wared whole of his wounds, sauing some which dyed for wat of looking to in time, leauing their wounds filthy & vnbound, as *Surgions* doe affirme, with also their great trauell & weakenesse. And likewise other some remayned lame and halt, which was no small grieue and loss: but the most parte recovered health, as I haue declared. After twenty dayes fully past, whiche they had abode in *Tlaxcallan*, Cortes determined to make warre with the *Indians* of *Tepeacac*, which is a great Towne, and not farre from thence, for they hadde slayne twelue Spanyards, whiche came from *Vera Cruz* towarde *Mexico*. Likewise they were of the league of *Culhua*, and therfore were holpen by the *Mexicans*, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitantes of *Tlaxcallan*, as *Xicotencatl* did testifie. Cortes desired hys louing friende *Maxica*, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell with the States and comunaltie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consente to giue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many *Tamemoz*, who are foote carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of *Tlaxcaltecas*, his owne men and horses, he wente to *Tepeacac*, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of y twelue *Christians* that they shuld now yelde themselves to the obedience of the Emperoz, and that hereafter neuer moze to receiue any *Mexican* into

into theyr towne or houses, neyther yet any of the prouince of *Culhua*.

The *Tepeacacs* answered, that they had slaine the Spaniards for good and iuste cause, whiche was, that being tyme of warre they presumed to passe through their countrey by force, without their will and licence. And also that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friendes and Lordes, whom alwayes they would friendly entertayne within their towne and houses, refusing vtterly their offer and request, protesting to giue no obedience to whom they knew not, wishyng them therfore, to returne inconsistent to *Tlaxcallan*, excepte they had desire to ende their iuerie dayes.

*Cortes* innuited them diuers times with peace, and seeing it preuailed not, he begā his warres in earnest. Their enemies lykwise with the fauour of the *Culhuacans* were hye and lustie, and began to stoppe and defend their pretended entraunce. And they beyng many in number, with diuers valiant men among them, began to skirmishe sundry times, but at the end, they were ouerthrowen, and many slayne, without killing any Spaniarde, although many *Tlaxcaltecas* were killed that day.

The Lordes and principall persons of *Tepeacac* seying theyr ouerthrow, and that their strength coulde not preuaile, yelded themselues vnto *Cortes* for vassalles of the Emperour, with condition to banish for ever their allied friendes of *Culhua*. And that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure, all those whiche were occasion of the death of the twelue Spaniardes. For which causes and obstinacie, at the firste *Cortes* indged by his sentence, that all the townes whiche had bene prouie to the murder, should for ever remaine captiues and slaves: others affirmed that he ouercame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being *Sodomites*,

idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for cräple of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaues, and within twenty daies that these warres lasted, he pacified all that prouince, which is very great: he dräue from thence the *Culhuacans*: he threw downe the idols, and the chiefeest persons obeyed him. And for more assuraunce he builte there a towne, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*: he appoynted all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way from *Vera Crux* to *Mexico*, where by the Christians and straungers mighte passe without daunger. In these warres serued lyke faithfull friends the Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and *Cholalla*, promysing the lyke seruice and succour agaynst *Mexico*, yea and rather better than worse. With this victoery the Spaniards recouered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slayne.

The great auctoritie that Cortez  
had among the Indians.



After all these things were finished, Cortez commaunded & gaue licence to al the Indian friēds, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of *Tlaxcallan*, who he kept in his company for the warres of *Mexico*: he nowe dispatched a posse to *Vera Crux*, commaunding that foure of the shippes which *Naruaez* had brought, should be sent with al speēde to the Island of *Santo Domingo*, for men, horses, armour, powder & other munition, also for wollen cloth, linnen, shewes, and many other things: and wrote his letters for the same to the licenciat *Rodrigo de Figueroa*, and to the whole magistrates of *Chancery*, certifying them of all their proceedings in that countrey, beseeching them of helpe and succour, and that



that forthwith to be sent by the messenger.

This done, he sente twentie horsemen, two hundred Spaniardes, and many Indians into *Zacatani* and *Xalaxino*, whiche were towines subiect to the *Mexicans*, and placed in the high way to *Vera Cruz*, who had slayne certaine Spaniardes passyng that way. This company wente thither, with their accustomed protestations, whiche prevailed not, whereupon followed fire and spoyles: many Gentlemen and other principall persons came to yeelde themselves to *Cortes*, more for feare than for good will, cravynge pardon for theyr offence, promising also not to offende agayne, nor yet at any tyme to take armour against the Spaniardes. *Cortes* pardoned them, & then his armie returned, with determination to keepe his Christ-masse in *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was within twelue dayes following. He left a Captaine with thre score Spaniards in the newe towne of *Segura*, to keepe that passage, and also to put in feare the *Comarcans* that dwelled thereabout: he sente befoze him his whole armie, and he himself went with twentie horsemen from thence to *Coliman* to lodge there that night, being a cittie of his allied friendes, and there to ordaine and make by his auctoritie, bothe souldiers and Captaynes in lue of them whiche died with the disease of small pockes. He aboade there thre dayes, in the whiche the newe Lordes were ordeyned, who afterwards remayned his especiall friendes. The next day he came to *Tlaxcallan*, beyng five leagues distant from thence, where he was triumphantly receyued. And truly at that time he made a journey most woorthie of renowne and glory.

At this season his deere friende *Maxica* was departed this transitorie lyfe, for whome he mourned clothed in blacke, after the Spanishe fashion: he left behind him certaine sonnes, of whom the eldest was .xj. yeres of age, whom

whome Cortes named and appoynted for Lorde of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glozy for Cortes to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those Indians should haue him in suche feare and respect, that none durste doe any thyng in acceptyng the inheritaunce of their fathers without his good will and licence.

Now Cortes procured that every man shoulde make his harneys, weapons and prouision readie and in good order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was already cutte and seasoned: he sente vnto Vera Cruz for sayles, tacle, nayles, roapes and other necessarie things, whereof theie was store remaynyng of the furniture of the shippes that were sunke. And hauyng wante of pitche, for in that countrey the Indians knewe not what it meant, he commaunded certayne of his Martiners to make the same in the highe Mountaynes where was store of Pine trees, and not farre from the cittie.

### The Vergantines that Cortez com-

maunded to be built, and the Spaniardes which he had ioyned together to besiege Mexico.



The same of prosperitie whiche Cortes enjoyed, was wonderfully blotwen abroad: with the newes of the imprisonment of Mutezuma, and the victozy against Pamfilo de Naruacz, wherevppon there came many Spaniardes by twenty and twentie in a company from Cuba, Santo Domingo, and other Ilandes. Although that iourney coste some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of Tepeacac and Xalacimco, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came

came many to *Thaxcallan*, whereby his hoste was muche encreased, beseeching him to make haste towarde the warres.

It was not possible for *Cortes* to haue espies in *Mexico*, for the *Thaxcaltecas* were knowen by their lippes, eares, and other tokens, and also they had in *Mexico* garde and great enquirie for that purpose, by reason wherof he could not certainly knowe what passed in those parties, according as he desired, for to haue prouided himself of things needefull: yet a Captayne whiche was taken prisoner in *Huacacholla*, certified that *Cuetlauac* Lozde of *Ixtacpalapan*, *Peue* to *Mutezuma*, was elected Emperour after his Uncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hee it was that had driven *Cortes* out of *Mexico*, who now had fortified *Mexico* with many bulwarkes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapon, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the grounde to resist and molest the horsemen. He proclaymed pardon and free libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yeere, yea and further as long as the warres should laste, he promysed also great rewardes to all them that shoulde kill any Chyistian, or erpulle them from that countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte muche credite among his vassals, yea and gaue them greate courage to play the valiant men. All this netwes was founde to be true, sayng onely *Cuetlauac* was dead. And that *Quahurimocin*, *Peue* also, as some doe say, of *Mutezuma*, raygned at that tyme, who was a valiant man and a good warrier, as hereafter shalbe declared, who sente his messengers through out his Emppre, proclaymyng as great rewardes as *Cuetlauac* had done before, declaring vnto them that it was moze reason to serue him than straungers, and also to defende theyr olde auncient Religion, and not to credite suche Chyistians as woulde make



themselues Lordes of other mens goodes, yea and make them slaues and captiues as they had done in other places. *Quahutimoc* encouraged muche his subiectes, and kindled with his talke their wrath agaynst the Spaniards: yet there were some prouinces that gaue no eare to his in'ormation, but rather leaned to our side, or else medled with neyther side. *Cortes* seying the effect of the matter, determined forthwith to beginne the warres: he mustered his men on Saint Steuens day, and founde fourtie horsemen, and five hundred & fourtie footemen, whereof foure scoze were Hargabushiers, and crossebow men, niene peces of ordinaunce, and little powder: his horsemen he diuided into foure squares, and his footemen into nine: he named & appointed captaynes, and other officers for the host, vnto whom in general he spake as followeth.

### The exhortation of Cortez to

his Souldiers.



**M**y louyng brethzen, I gyue mosse hartie thanks vnto Iesu Christ, to see you now whole of your woundes and free from diseases: likewise I muche reioyce to see you in god order trimly armed, yea and with such desire to sette agayne vpon *Mexico*, to reuenge the death of our fellowes, and to winne that greate Citie, the whiche I truste in God shalbe brought to passe in short time, hauing the friendship of *Texcaltan* and other prouinces, who haue as great desire to see the ouerthrowe of the *Mexicans*, as we our selues, for therein they gette both honour, libertie & safegarde of life. Also it is to be considered, that if the victory should not be ours, they were soules should be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie. Also the *Culhuacans* do abhorre them worse than us, for

recept

receyuing vs into their houses and countrey: therefore  
 sure I am that they will sticke vnto vs vnfaynedly. I  
 muste needes confesse their vnfayned friendship, for pre-  
 sente workes doe testifie the same. They will not onely  
 be a meane to bying others their neyghbours to our ser-  
 uice, but also haue now in readinesse. 100000. me of warre,  
 to sende with vs, besides a great nuber of *Tamemez* or car-  
 riers to carrie al our prouision. We also, are now the same  
 which alwaies heretofore we haue bene, for I as witnesse  
 keying your captayne, haue had the victory of many bat-  
 tyles fighting with a. 100. yea & 200000. enimies: we got  
 also by strength of arme many strōg cities, yea & brought  
 in subiection many prouinces, not beyng so many in num-  
 ber as we are now, for when we came firste into this  
 countrey we were not so many as now presently we are,  
*Agayne in Mexico* they feare our coming: it should also be  
 a blot vnto our honour that *Quahurimoc* should inherite  
 kingdom that cost our friēd *Mutezuma* his life. Likewise  
 I esteeme al that we haue done is nothing, if we winne not  
*Mexico*, our victories shoulde also be sorrowfull if we re-  
 uenge not the death of our deere fellows. The chiefe and  
 principall cause of our coming into this countrey, was to  
 set forth the faith of Iesu Christ, & therewithal doth solow  
 honour & profite which seildome times do dwell together.  
 In those fewe dayes that we were in *Mexico*, we put  
 downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eatyng of mans  
 fleshe to bee layde aside, and also in those dayes we be-  
 ganne to conuerte some to the fapth. It is not therefore  
 now reason to leaue of so laudable an enterpyse, so  
 well begonne. Lette vs now goe whither holy fapth doth  
 call vs, and where the sinnes of our enimies deserueth  
 so great a punishment, and if yee well remember, the Ci-  
 tizens of that citie were not cōtent to murder such an in-  
 finite number of men, women & children befoze the idols.

Ag. 15.

in



in their filthy sacrifice, for honour of their Diuelishe Goddes, but also to eate their flesh, a thyng inhumayne, and much abhored of God, and al god men doth procure, and especially Christians, to defende and punish such odious customes.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible sinne for the whiche the five cities with *Sodom* were burned by fire from heauen: Why then what greater occasion should any man wishe for in earth, than to abolish such wickednesse, and to plant among these bloudy tyrants the sayth of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel? Therfore now, with ioyfull hartes lette vs procede to serue God, honour our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to enriche our selues with the goodly pray of *Mexico*, to morrow God willing we will beginne the same.

All his men answered with cherefull countenance, that they were ready to departe when it pleased him, promising their faithfull seruice vnto him. It should seme the rather with the desire of that pleasure and greate treasure whiche they had eyght moneths enioyed before.

Cortes commaunded to proclayme throughout his army, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouernement of his hoste, whiche he had wrytten among others: and were these that followeth:

That none should blaspheme the holy name of Iesus.

That no Souldier should fight with his felloiue.

That none shoulde play at any game, his horse nor armour.

That none should force any woman.

That none should robbe or take any *Indian* captiue without his speciall licence and counsellors.

That none should w<sup>o</sup>g or iniurie any *Indian* their friends: he also tared y<sup>o</sup>n wo<sup>r</sup>ke and apparell, for cause of the excessive prices that they were there sold for.

The



The exhortation made by Cortez to  
the Indians of Tlaxcallan.



The next day following, Cortez called be-  
foze him all the Lordes, Captaynes, and  
principall persons of Tlaxcallan, Huexotli-  
co, Chololla, Chalco, and of other townes,  
who were there presente at that time, say-  
ing as followeth. My Lords and friends,

you know the iourney which I haue now in hande, to  
morrowe God willing I will departe to the warre and  
Siege of Mexico, and enter into the land of youre enemies  
and mine: And the thing that now I do require, and also  
pray, is, that you remayne faithfull and constant in your  
promise made, as hitherto you haue done, and so I  
trust you will continue. And because I can not bring so  
many my purpose to passe according to youre desire and  
mine, without the *Nergancines* which are now a making,  
and to be placed in the lake of Mexico, therefore I pray  
you to fauour these workemen whiche I leaue here,  
with such loue and friendship, as heretofore you haue  
done, and to giue them all things necessary for their pro-  
uision, and I do faithfully promise to take away the yoke  
of bondage, which the inhabitantes of *Culbuc* haue layde  
vpon you, and also will obteyne of the Emperoure great  
libertie and priuiledges for you.

All the Indians thewed countenance of obedience, and  
the chiefe Gentlemen answered in few words, saying,  
we will not onely fulfill youre request, but also when  
your vessels are finished, we will bring them to Mexico,  
and we all in generall will goe with you, and truly serue  
you in your warres, &c.

## How Cortez tooke Tezcucoc.



Cortez departed from *Flaxcallan* w<sup>th</sup> hys  
 Souldiers in good order; wherhe was a  
 goodly sight to beholde, for at that time he  
 had eyghtie thousand men in his host, and  
 the most of them armed after their man-  
 ner, which made a gallant shew; but Cortez for diuers cau-  
 ses would not haue them all w<sup>th</sup> him, vntill the *Verigan-  
 tines* were finished, and *Asteca* beleaged, fearing wante of  
 vittayle for so greate an armye yet notwithstanding he  
 tooke twentie thousand of them, besides the Carriers, and  
 that night came to *Texcoco*, which stādoth fīre leagues  
 from *Flaxcallan*, and is a Village apperteyning to *Hue-  
 xotzinco*, wherhe he was by the principall of the Towne wel  
 receyued. The next day he iourneyed foure leagues, into  
 the territorie of *Mexico*; and there was lodged on the fīre  
 of a hill, where many had perished with colde, had it not  
 bin for the store of wodde which they found there. In the  
 morning he ascended vpwards on this hill, and sente hys  
 fronte of foure footemen and foure horsemen to discouer,  
 who found the way stopped w<sup>th</sup> great trees newly cutte  
 downe, and placed crossewise in the way, but they thin-  
 king that yet forwards it was not so proceeded forthe as  
 well as they might, vntill at length they let w<sup>th</sup> great hugie  
 trees was such, that they could passe no further, and w<sup>th</sup>  
 this newes were forced to returne, certifying Cortez that  
 the Horsemenne coulde not passe that way in any wyse,  
 Cortez demaunded of them whether they hadde seene any  
 people, they answered no, wherevppon he proceeded for-  
 warde w<sup>th</sup> all the Horsemen, and a thousande footemen,  
 commaunding all the residue of hys armye to followe  
 him w<sup>th</sup> as muche speede as myghte be, so that w<sup>th</sup>  
 that



that companie whyche he carried with him, he made waye, taking away the trees that were cutte downe to disturbe his passage: and in this order, in short time passed his host, without any hurt or daunger, but with great payne and trauell, for certaynely if the enimies had bin there to defende that passage, oure menne hadde not passed, for it was a verie euill way, and the enimies also thoughte the same to be sure with the trees whiche were crossed the way, wherebpon they were carelesse of that place, and attended their comming in playne ground: for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are three wayes, of the whiche Cortes chole the worst, ymagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some hadde aduised him howe that way was cleere from the enimies. And being past this crooked passage, they espyed the lake of *Mexico*, and gaue vnto God mosse hartie thanks for the same, and there made a solemne vowe and promise, not to returne, vntill they had wonne *Mexico*, or lost their liues. They abode there and rested themselves, till all the whole armye were come together, to descende downe into the playne, for nowe they myghte descrye the fires and beacons of theyr enimies in sundrye places, and all those whyche hadde attended theyr comming by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thynkyng to sette vpon them betwixte certayne bridges, where a greate company abode, expecting theyr coming: but Cortes sente twenty horsemen, who made way among them, and then followed the whole armye, who slew manye of them, without receyving anye hurte. And in this order they came to *Quahuhtepetl*, whiche is of the iurisdiction of *Texcoco*, where they abode that night, and in that place founde neither manne nor woman: but not farre off was pitched the Campe of the Indians of *Culhuacan*, which



which myght be nere a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the Seniors of Mexico, and Texcoco, to encounter our armye, in consideration whereof, Cortes kept good watch with tenne Horsesmen, and all his Souldyers were warned to be in readynesse at a call, if nede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence towarde Texcoco, whiche standeth thre leagues distant, and proceeding on their iourney, foure principal persons, inhabitantes of Texcoco, mette with them, bearing a rod of golde, with a little flagge, in token of peace, saying, that Coacahuacoyotzin their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoyle in his Countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his whole army to take his lodging in the Towne of Texcoco, where he shoulde be well receyued. Cortes receyued with this message, although he suspected that it was a sayned matter, but one of them he knewe very well, whome he saluted, saying: My cunning is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receyue and hold your Lord for a friende, with condition, that hee doe make vnto me restitution of the treasure whyche hee toke from five and forty Spaniards, and thre hundred *Alcaldeacks*, all the which were by his commaundement also slayne of late dayes. They aunswered that *Autezuma* caused them to be murdered, who had likewise taken the spoyle, and that the Citizens of Texcoco were not culpable in that fact, and with this aunswere they returned. Cortes went forward on his way, and came to *Quahuatlan* and *Huachta*, which are suburbs of Texcoco, where he and all his host were plentifully provided of all things necessary, and thre towne the Idolles. This done, hee entered into the Citie, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the Spaniards.

with

with many other the *Indian* friends. And because that at his first entry, he sawe neyther women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaymed, upon payne of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings and chambers, placing every thing in good order. In the evening they went by into the *Zoties* and galleries, to beholde the Citie, which is as bigge as *Mexico*, and there they sawe the greates number of Citizens that fledde from thence with their stuffe, some towarde the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boate, a thing straunge, to see the great hast and stirre to provide for themselves, at the least ther were twentie thousand litle boates (called *Canoes*) occupied, in carrying household stuffe and passengers. Cortes would sayne have remedied it, but that night was so nygh at hand, that he coulde not. He would gladly also have apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fledde vnto *Mexico*. Cortes caused many of the Citizens, to be called befoze him, and hauing in hys company a yong gentleman of a noble house in that countrey, who was also last christened, & had to name *Hernando*, Cortes being his godfather, who loued him well, sayde vnto the citizens, that this new Christian lord, *Don Hernando*, was sonne vnto *Nezahuapincintli* their louing Lord, wherfoze he required them to make him their king, considering that *Coacnacoyotin*, was fled vnto the enemies, laying also befoze them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacuzza* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance & kingdome, through the enticement of *Quahutimocin*, a mortal enemy to the Spaniards. In this sort was *Don Hernando* elected king, and the same therof being blowne abroade, manye citizens repayed home againe to visite their newe Prince, so that in short space the citie was as wel replenished with people, as it was befoze, and being

Rr.

also

also well vsed at the Spaniards hands, they serued them diligently in all thyngs that they were commaunded. And *Don Hernando* aboode euer after a faithfull friende vnto the Spaniards, and in short tyme learned the Spanishe tongue: and sone after came the inhabitants of *Quahutichan*, *Huaxura* and *Auntenco*, to sabmytte them selues, crauing pardon, if in any thyng they had offended. *Cortez* pardoned them, and gaue them licence to departe home vnto their houses.

*Quahutimar*, *Coacnacoyo* and other magistrates of *Culhua* sente to rayle vppon those towne, for yalding themselves to the Christians, but they layde held vpon the messengers, and brought them vnto *Cortes*, of whome he enformed himselfe of the state of *Mexico*, and sent them backe againe, requiring their Lords of peace and friendship: but it preuailed not, for they were fully armed for the warre.

A good  
correction.

At this instante certaine friendes of *James Velasques* went vp and downe the Campe, procuring secretly a mutenie among the souldiers, to haue them to returne to *Cuba*, and utterly to destroy *Cortes* his proceedings. This thing was not so secretly wrought, but that *Cortes* had knowledge, wherevppon he apprehended the doers thereof, and by their confessions the matter did plainly appeare, whervppon he condemned to death one *Antonio de Villafania*, who was natural of *Samora*, and forthwith executed the sentence, wherewith the punishment and Mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The



## The Spaniardes vy which ywere

sacrificed in Tex-  
coco.

Aply increased Cortes in strength and reputation, and many towne as wel of the partes of *Culhua* as others came vnto his friendship and obedience. Within two days that *Don Hernando* was made king, came certayne gentlemen of *Huaxtla* and *Quahuri-*

*chan*, to certisy vnto him, how al the power of the *Mexicans* was comming towarde them, and to knowe if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wiues, children, and other goods into the Mountaines, or els to bring them where he was, theyr feare was so great. Cortes made vnto the this answer, saying: be ye of good courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to comaunde your wiues & families to make no alteratiō, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enimies, I am glad of their comming, for ye shal see how I will deale with them. But the enimies wente not to *Huaxtla*, as it was thought: neuerthelesse Cortes hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordnance, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniardes, with many Indians of *Tlaxcallā*. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certayne townes where the *Mexicans* were wonte to succour themselves. The next day came the chiefest men of thre townes to craue pardon, and to beseech him not to destroy the, promising neuer to harbour nor succour, any of *Culhua*.

Ar. ii.

The

The *Mexicans* hearing what these towne men presented, with greate p<sup>re</sup> made a foule correction among them, as dyd appeare by many of them, which came vnto Cortes with broken heads, desiring reuengement.

The inhabitants of *Chalco* sent also vnto him for succour, declaring that the *Mexicans* made greate spoyles among them. But Cortes being ready to send for his *Alegantines*, could not relieue them all, and especially w<sup>th</sup> *Spaniards*: wherefoze he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and vnto the of *Huexocinco*, *Chololla*, *Huacacholla* and other friends, promising that shortly he would come himselfe. But this answer pleased him not, yet for the p<sup>re</sup>sent n<sup>ee</sup>de they required his letters to be w<sup>ri</sup>tten vnto those townes. And being in this communication, there came messengers from *Tlaxcallan*, with newes, that the *Alegantines* were ready, and to knowe if he stood in n<sup>ee</sup>de of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue sene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, than heretofore hath bene sene.

There came at that time, a *Spaniard* also from *Veracruz*, with certaine newes, that there had arriued a ship, whiche had brought thirtie Souldiers besides the mariners of the ship, with eight horses, great store of powder, shotte, crossebowes, and Harquebushes. The p<sup>re</sup>sent newes reioyced much our men, wherevpon Cortes sente forthwith to *Tlaxcallan* for the *Alegantines*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, and fiftene horsemen, and commaunded that in their way they shold burne and destroy the towne where the fourty fve *Spaniards*, and thre hundred *Tlaxcaltecas* were slayn, with fve horses moe, when *Mexico* was last besieged: and y<sup>e</sup> village is in y<sup>e</sup> iurisdiction of *Texcoco*, and bordereth vpon the territorie of *Tlaxcallan*, yea, and for that purpose he would gladly haue corrected and punished the dwellers of

of *Texcuco*, but time then permitted not y<sup>e</sup> same, although they had deserued moze punishment than the others. For why: in their towne they were sacrificed and eaten, yea & the walles painted with their blood, shewing moreouer perfit tokens, how it was Spaniards blood. They pluckt off also the hozes skinnies & tanned the in the heare, and afterwards hung them vppe, with the hozeshoes in their great temple, & next vnto them, the Spaniards garmētes, for a perpetual memozy.

*Sandoual* went vnto that place with determinate entēte to folloiw his cōmission, & also befoze he came to y<sup>e</sup> place, he found wyttē in a house w<sup>th</sup> a cole, these words: here in this house was a prisoner y<sup>e</sup> vnfortunate *John Iust*, who was a gentleman, and one of the five hozemen that wer taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fledde when they saw the Spaniardes approach neare vnto the. But *Sandoual* followed them, and slewe many of them: he toke also prisoners, manye women and children, who yelded themselues vnto his mercie, and their bodies for slaues. He sáing so little resistance, and beholding the pitiful mone of the wiues for their husbandes, and the children for their fathers, had compassiō on them, and wold not destroye their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with othe, that hereafter they shoulde serue them truely, and be vnto them loyal friends. In this sozte was the death of the Ch�istians reuenged, yet *Sandoual* asked them howe they slewe so manye Ch�istians without resistance, marye (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euil and narrow way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went vppe by one and one we spoyled them, for there, neyther hozes nor other weapon could defend oꝝ help the, so y<sup>e</sup> we toke them prisoners and sente them to *Texcuco*, where, as is befoze deblared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement



## How the Vergantines vvere brought frō

*Flaxcall to Texcuco.*

**N**Owe when the enemies which murdered the Spaniards, were reduced and chastened, *Sandoual* proceeded forward towarde *Flaxcallan*, and at the border of that prouince, he mette with the Vergantines which were brought in pieces, as tables, planches, and nayles, with all other furniture, the whych eight thousand men carped vpon their backs.

There came also for their safeconduite twentie thousande men of warre, and a thousande *Tamemes*, who were the carriers of victuals, and seruantes. The the Spanishe Carpenters sayde, vnto *Sandoual*, that for as muche as they were nowe come into the countrey of enimies, it might please him to haue regarde ther vnto, for daungers that myght happen: he allowed wel theyr iudgement.

Nowe *Chichimecateatl*, being a principal man and a valiant also, was captaine of a thousande men, & desired to haue the vanguard with the Tymber, and hauing had the same charge hither vnto, it should be an affront for him, to be put from it, and gaue manye reasons in his behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was entreated to take the reregarde. And that *Tutupil* and *Tenrecatl* captaines, very principal gentlemen, should haue the vanguard, with ten thousand men. In the myddest were placed the *Tamemes*, and those that carryed the fopst, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before those two captaynes, went a hundreded Spaniards, and eight

eight horsemen, and behind and last came *Sandotal* with all the residue, and seuen horsemen. But now although *Chichimecateatl* was offended, touching his first charge, now much more because the Spaniards were not in his company, saying (quoth he) ye take me not for valiant, or else not faithful. That matter being pacified, and euery thing in good order, they toke they way toward *Tezcuco*, with a marueylous noyse, crying, Christians, Christians, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and Spayne.

On the fourth day they entred into *Tezcuco*, in verie good order, with the sounde of drummes, snayle-shells, and other like instrumentes of Musicke, and againste their entry into the Citie, they put on al their brauerye of clothes, and busshes of feathers, whiche truely was a gallant sight: they were sixe houres, in entryng into the towne, keeping their array.

*Cortez* came forth to retepye them, and gaue greafe thanks vnto the gentlemen, and all the company, and prouided them of good lodgings and entertaynement.

### Of the Docke or trench vvhich

was made to launch, the *Vergantines*.



Anye prouinces of India, came to submitte and offer their seruice vnto *Cortes*, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred whych they bare to the *Mexicans*: So that nowe *Cortes* was strong both with Spaniards and Indians. Also the Spanishe Captaine of *Segura*, sent a letter to *Cortez*, the which letter he had receyued of another

another Spaniard, the effect therof was as foloweth. Noble gentlemen, diuerse times I haue written vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued answer, noz yet now doe I I thinke otherwise, notwithstanding yee shall vnderstande, that the *Culhuacans* haue done much hurte in this countrey, but we remaine with victorie. This prouince desireth to see and knowe Captaine *Cortez*, for to render themselues vnto him, and nowe they stande in neede of our nation, wherfoze it may please you to sende vnto vs thirtie Spaniardes.

*Cortez* answered the letter in such sort, that he then presently coulde not sende the thing desired, for that he was readye to the siege of *Mexico*: notwithstanding he gaue them great thanks, with hope shortly to see the. He that writte the former letter, was one of the Spaniardes that *Cortez* hadde sente to the prouince of *Chinanta*, a yeare passe, to enquire of the secretes of that place, and to seeke for golde and other commodities. And if it so happened, that the Lorde of that place made that Spaniarde a Captayne, agaynst the *Culhuacans* theyr enemyes, for *Mutezuma* made them warre beeing farre from *Mexico*, bycause they had entrefrayned the Spaniardes. But through the industrie of that Christian, the Lorde aboadc allwayes with victorie, and hauing vnderstanding that some of his nation were in *Tepeacac*, he wrote so often as the letter declareth, but none of them came to their hands, but only this last letter: our men reioyced muche to heare that the Spaniardes were aliue, and also the Lorde of *Chinanta* to be their friende: likewise they marueyled much howe they had escaped, for at the time that they fledde from *Mexico*, all other Spaniardes that were abiding in the Pynes and other Lordshippes, were slaine by the *Indians*.



Cortes made his preparation for the siege of Mexico with all hast, and furnished him with scaling ladders, and other necessaries, fitte for such a purpose. His *Vergantines* being nayled, and thoroughly ended, he made a sluise or trench of halfe a league of length, twelue fote broad & more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fittie dayes a doying, although there were foure hundred thousand me daily working, truely a famous worke and worthy of memory.

The *Vergantines* were calked with Towe and cotton wooll, and for want of talloiw and oyle, they were (as some reporte,) driuen to take mans greafe, not that they slewe men for that effect, but of those which were slayne in the warres. The *Indians* who were cruell and bloody butchers, vsing sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead bodye, and take out the greafe. The *Vergantines* being lanched, Cortes mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spaniards, of the which were 86. Horsemen, and a hundred and eyghtene with Crossebowes and Bargarbushes, and all the residue had sundry weapons, as swords, daggers, Targets, Launces, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, corselets, coates of maple, and Jackes. They had moreouer thre great peeces of cast yron, fiftene small peeces of brasse, and tenne hundred waighte of powder, with store of shotte. All that ye haue hearde, was the prouision that Cortes had for the siege of Mexico, the strongest and greatest Citie in all India and newe world. In eache *Vergantine* he placed a pece of brasse. He proclaymed agayne all the institutions and ordinarres of the warre, praying and commaunding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, Brethren and my fellows, now do you see our vessels readye, yea and also you do remember howe troublesome a thyng it hath bin to bying them hither with the cosse and sweate

A strange  
tallowe.

of our friendes, and one of the chiefest hopes that I haue shortly to winne *Mexico*, are these vessels, for with them we will burne all their *Canoes*, or else we will so locke them by, that they shall not help them, whereby we will annoy our enimie as muche that way, as our army shall do by land. I haue also a hundred thousand men of warre my friends to beseege this Citie, who are (as you know) y<sup>e</sup> valiantest men in all these parties. You haue also your vittailles prouided abundantly, and that which now importeth, is, that you play the menne, as heretofore you haue done, and most humbly to pray vnto God for victorie, for that this warre is his.

### The order of the host and army of

*Cortes* for to beseege *Mexico*.



The next day following, *Cortes* sente vnto the prouinces of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocingo*, *Cholulla*, *Chal*, and other Townes, warning the within tenne dayes to come vnto *Tezcuca*, with theyr armour, weapon, and other necessities, for the siege of *Mexico*. He certified them also, how the *Vergantines* were ready with all other furniture accordingly, and the *Spanyarden* were very desirous to lose no time, wherefore they meante not to delay their pretence, farther than the day appoynted.

The *Indians* hearing this newes, and because they would not come so late to the beginning of the assault, came incontinente, and entred into *Tezcuca* in good order of warre, aboue sixtie thousand men, gallantly trimmed after their vse and custome. *Cortes* friendly welcommed them, and prouided them lodgings accordingly.

On *Whitsunday*, all the *Spanyarden* came into the felde, whereas *Cortes* made three chiefe *Captaynes*, among



among whome he deuided his whole army. Vnto *Pedro de Aluaredo* the first Captayne, he appoynted thirtie hoſemen, and a hundred and ſeauentie ſotemen of the Spaniards, two piéces of ordnance, and thirtie thouſande Indians, commaunding him to campe in *Tlacopan*. Vnto *Criſtoul de Olid* the ſeconde Captayne, he gaue threé and thirtie Hoſemen, and a hundred and eyghténe ſotemen of the Spaniſh nation, two piéces of ordnance, and thirtie thouſand Indians, and appoynted him to pitch his camp in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonſalo de Sandoval* who was the thyrde Captayne, he gaue threé and twenty Hoſemen, and 100. ſotemen, two piéces of Ordnance, and 40000. Indians, with commiſſion to choſe a place to pitch his Camp.

In euery *Vergantine* he planted a piéce of ordnance, ſixe hargabuſhes, 03. croſſebowes, and 23. Spaniards, m<sup>e</sup> moſt fitteſt for that purpoſe. He appointed alſo Captaynes for eache, and himſelfe for general, tohercof ſome of the chiefſt of his compaign began to murmure that twente by lande, thinking that they had bin in greater daunger, wherefore they required him to goe with the mayne battell, and not by water. Cortes little eſteemed their wordes, for although it is moze daunger in the water than in the land, yet it did moze importe to haue greater care in the warres by water, than on the land, bycauſe his men had bin in the one, and not in the other.

On the tenth of May *Aluaredo*, and *Criſtoul de Olid* departed, and went that night to a Towne called *Xolimen*, where was betwéne them greate diſcorde touchyng their lodgings, yea and if Cortes had not ſento to take by the matter, much miſchiefe had enſued. The nexte daye they lodged in *Xolitepec*, whych was not inhabited. The thyrde daye they came vnto *Tlacopan*; whych was alſo as all the Townes of the lake, wythout people, there they were lodged in the Lordes houſe of the Towne.

Pl. y.

The



The *Thlaxcaltecas* began to biewe *Mexico* by the calley, and foughte with their enimies, vntill the nighte made them to ceasse.

On the thirteenth of May, *Cristoual de Olid* came to *Chapultepec*, and brake the conduites of swete water, where vpon *Mexico* was destitute of the same, being the conduit that did prouide all the Citie. *Pedro de Aluaro* wyth his company procured to amende all the broken places of the calley, that the horsemen might haue free passage, and haying muche to do in these affaires, he spente thre dayes, and fighting with many enimies, some of his men were hurt, and many Indian friends slayn. *Aluaro* abode in *Tlacopan* with his armye, and *Cristoual de Olid* retired to *Culhuacan* with his men, according to the instruction receyued from *Cortes*, and fortifyed themselves in the Lordes houses of the Towne, and euery daye skirmished with the enimies, and some went to the Townes nere at hande, and brought *Censli*, fruite, and other provision. In this businesse they occupied theselues a whole weeke.

### The Battaile and victory of the Ver-

*gantines against the Canoa.*



He newe King *Quahutimac* hauing intelligence how *Cortes* hadde launched hys *Vergantines* and so mightie a power to besiege *Mexico*, entred into counsell wyth the chiefest pæres of hys Realme. Some were of opinion, and dyd prouoke hym to the warres, considering theyr greate multitude of people, and fortitude of the Citie.

Others were of opinion, who tended muche the common weale, that no sparyarde that shoulde happen to

be taken prysoner shoulde be sacrificed, but rather to be preferred for conclusion of peace if neede shoulde so requyre. And finally some sayde, that they should demaunde of their Goddess what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe more to peace than to warre, sayde that he would remitte the matter to the iudgement of the idolles, and that he would aduise them what answer should be made vnto him but: in harte he desired to come to some honest order and agreement with Cortes, fearing the thyng that after did ensue. But seying his Counsell and subiectes so determined to warre, he commaunded foure Spaniardes whiche he had prysoners in a cage, to be sacrificed vnto the Goddess of warre, with a great number more of *Indians*.

He spake to the Diuell in the image of *Pitzilopucheli*, A Diuinish  
sentence. who answered him that he shoulde not feare the Spaniardes being but selue, nor yet those whiche were comen to helpe them, for that they shoulde not long abide in the siege, commaunding him to goe forth and to encounter them without feare, for he would helpe them and kill his enimies. With this answer of the diuel, *Quahutimoc* commaunded forthwith to breake downe the bridges, watche the Cittie, make bulwarkes, and to arme fve thousande boates, and sayde vnto the Spaniardes, that the Goddess would be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the Snakes filled with their bloud, and the Tigres relieved with their flesh, they sayde also to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, ah ye Cuckold knaues, slaues and traytors to your gods and kyng, will you not repent the wickednesse whiche ye haue committed agaynst your maisters, therefore shall you now die an euill death, for either you shall die with hunger, or else vpon the knife: and then wil we eate your flesh, and make thereof solenne a banquet a sthe like hath heretofore neuer bene sene, and in token therof hold

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take



take these armes and legges whiche we thzowe vnto you of your owne men, which we haue now sacrificed for the obtaining of victoꝝy. And after these warres we will goe vnto your countrey and spoyle your Towne, & leaue no memoꝝy of your bloud oꝝ generation. The *Tlaxcaltecas* laughed at their madde talke, and sayd, that it shoulde be better for them to yeelde and submitte themselues to Cortes his mercy, and if not, yet it were moze honoꝝable to fight than to bragge, willyng them to come out into the field. And had them assuredly beleaue, that the ende of all their knauery was at hande: it was a woꝝld to heare and see the bragges and crakes on both sides. Cortes hearyng of all these matters, sent *Sandnall* to take *Iztacpalapan*, and he embarked himselfe to meete him at that place.

*Sandnall* combated the towne on the one side, and the towne's menne and people with feare fledde vnto *Mexico*, on the other side by water: he burned the towne. Cortes came at y time to a strôg rocke lyke a towꝝer, situated in the water, where many men of *Cullua* were, who seying them appꝝoche with their *Wergantines*, sette theyꝝ beacons on fire, and thꝝelwe downe vpon them stones and shotte of theyꝝ arrowes. Cortes wente ashore with a hundred and fiftie menne, and combatted the foꝝte, till at length he wanne the battlement, whiche was the *Indians* beste defence, and with muche adoe hee came to the toppꝝ, and there fought vntill he had not lefte one aliue, sayng women and chyldꝝen. It was a sayꝝe victoꝝte, although fye and twentie *Spanyꝝrdes* were hurte and wounded, yet the foꝝte was strong, and the ouerthꝝowe a great discourageng of the enimie.

At this instant were so many beacons and other fires made rounde aboute the lake and vpon the hills, that all seemed a lighte fire. And also the *Mexicans* hearyng that the *Wergantynes* were comeng, they came out in their boates,



boates, with fūe hundred Gentlemen whiche came to see ſuche newe kinde of beſſelles, and to proue what they were, beyng a thyng of ſo greate a ſame. Cortes embar- ked himſelfe with the ſpoyle of the ſhor, and commaun- ded his men to abide all together for the better reſiſtance, and bycauſe the enimies ſhoulde thinke that they feared, wherupon they mighte without any good order gyue the onſette vpon the Chriſtians, and ſo to fall ſuddenly into the ſnare. But it followed, that when they came withū ſhotte of the Spaniardes ordinaunce: they ſtayed aby- dyng more company, but in ſhor, ſpace there came ſo many *Canas*, that it ſeemed a wonder to beholde: They made ſuche a terrible noyſe with theyr voyces, drummes, ſnayle ſhelles, and other like inſtruments of warre, that they could not heare one an other, with ſuch great crakes and bragges, as they had done in time paſſe.

And beyng bothe parties in a readineſſe to fight, there happened ſuche a ſouperwinde to the Mergantines which came from the ſhor, that it ſeemed meruellous. Cortes the praying God, commaunded al his Captaines to giue the onſet altogether, & not to ceaſe untill the enimies ſhould be dyuen to retire into *Mexico*, for that it was the plea- ſure of God to ſende vnto them that prosperous winde in token of victory. This talke ended, they beganne to ſette vpon the ening, who ſeyng the Mergantines come with ſuch lucky winde, yea & ſuch a ſight as the like vnto them had not bene ſene, they began to ſie with ſuche greate haſte, that they ſpoyled, brake, and ſunke many of them, and ſuche aſ ſode to defende themſelues were ſlayne, ſo that this battayle was ſone ended. They purſued them two leagues, untill they had locked them by in the water ſtreates of *Mexico*, and toke many Lordes and Gentlemen priſoners. And the key of al theſe warres ſubſiſted in this victory, ſo our me remaigned ſo; Lords of the

the whole lake, and the enimie with great feare and losse: they had not bene so sone spoiled, but that there were for many of them, who disturbed one an other. But when *Aluárado*, and *Cristóbal de Olid* saw the fortunate successe of *Cortes* by water, they entered the calsey with their army, and toke certaine bridges and bulwarke, and drave the *Indians* from them, with all their force and strength: But with the helpe of the *Mergantines* which came vnto them, the *Indians* were dyuyn to runne a whole league vpon the calsey, and where they founde the calsey broken, they procured to leape ouer, and so fel into the middell.

*Cortes* proceeded forwards, and finding no *Canoes*, he landed vpon the calsey that commeth from *Iztácpalapan*, with thirtie men, and combatteth two towlers of idoles whiche were walled with wall of lyme and stone: it was the same place where *Mutezuma* receyued *Cortes*. He wane those towlers in shorte time, although they were defended with all possibilitie: he vnshipped three peeces of ordinaunce to scoure the calsey, which was full of enimies: at the first shotte he did great hurte among the, and beyng the night at hande, they sealed on bothe sides for that day. And although *Cortes* had determined otherwise with his Captaynes, yet he aboade there that night, and sente to the campe of *Gonsalo de Sandoval* for powder and fittie men, with halfe the company of *Indians* of *Culhuacan*.

### How Cortez besieged Mexico.



The night of *Cortes* his abiding there, was perillous, for he had not aboue a hundred men in his company, and aboute midnight set vpo him many *Mexicans* both by water and lande, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the *Mergantines*

times made them fone to retire.

In the morning came vnto Cortes from *Cristoual de Olid*, right horsemen, and foure score footemen. The *Mexicans* combated the towers, where Cortes was lodged, who incontinent came forth & draue them along the calsey, vntill he had wonne an other brydge and a bulwarke, and made a great spoyle among them, with the ordinaunce & horse men, pursuyng them to the vtmoste houses of the Cittie: and bycause many of the *Canoas* whiche were on the other side of the calsey galled Cortes and his menne, he brake downe so muche of the calsey, that he mighte well passe some of his *Mergantines* to the other side, the which with few encounters shutte vp the *Canoas* on that side, within the succour of *Mexico*: and in this wise he remayned Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day *Sandoual* departed from *Iztacpalapan* toward *Culhuacan*, and in his way he toke and spoyled a little Cittie that standeth in the lake, bycause they came out to resist him. Cortes sente vnto him two *Mergantines* to passe his men where the calsey was broken. *Sandoual* left his company with *Cristoual de Olid*, and wēt to Cortes with tenne horsemen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enimies, and he alightyng from his horse, an *Indian* perfed him through the foote with a dart. Many *Spaniards* were hurte that day, but theyr grieve was well reuenged, for from that day forward the *Indians* courage was muche abated. With the paynes, labour and victoery already obtayned, Cortes might now at ease pitch his campe at his owne pleasure where he woulde, and also prouide his army of victuals: five dayes he ceassed not skirmishyng, and the *Mergantines* likewise founde out channels that they mighte goe rounde aboute the Cittie, yea and wente spoylyng and burning many houses within the Suburbes.

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Mexico



Mexico was besieged in foure places, althotigh at the first they determined but thre. Cortes was placed betwixt the two towers of the calsey: Pedro de Aluara do in Tlacopan: Cristoual de Olid in Culhuacan: Gonsalo de Sandoval in Xaltocasso: they had aduise that the same way they would flee out of the Citie, seying themselves in any daunger. It would not haue grieued Cortes to haue lefte a passage for the enemy, but only bycause they should not profite themselves vpon the lande, and prouide the Cittie that way of armour & victuall, yea, he also thought to pzenaile against his enemies better vpon the lande than vpon the water. And againe according to the olde prouerbe, When thine enemy lieth inake him a brydge of siluer.

### The first skirmishe vvithin the

cittie of Mexico.



Cortes pretended to enter the Citie, and to gette what he could, & also to see what stomacke the enemy had: he sent to aduise his captaines, that eche of them should do the like, requiring them to sende vnto him some of their hozsemen and fotemen. He gaue speciall commaundement to Cristoual de Olid to haue regard to the keeping of his calsey, and to forsee that the inhabitants of Xochmilco, Culhuacan, Ixtacpalapan, Vitzilopuchli, Mexicalcenco, Cuertlauac, & other cities thereabouts come not that way behinde them and vntwares. He commaunded that the Mergantines should goe along the calsey on bothe the sides, of any neede shoulde happen. Cortes early in the morning came out of his campe with. 2000 Spaniardes and. 80000. Indian friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with their enemies well armed, keeping the gappe where the calsey was broke, which broken place mought be a speares length, and as much in depth,

depth. They fought with them, who for a great space defended themselves behinde a bulwarke, but in fine he wanne the passage, and followed them vnto the entrance of the citie, where was a Towler, and at the foote thereof a bridge drawen, where a good streame of water passed. This place was very strong to combat, yea and fearefull to behold the passage where the drawe bridge was. They ceased not shotpng of arrowes and hurlyng of stones, so that our men coulde not come neare, vntill the Mergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesse paynes than they imagined: for without the Mergantines it had not bene possible to haue entred the Citie.

The enimies being now fled from that holde, our men alanded there, with the Indian friends, who incontinent rained vpon the broken place with stones and earth. The Spaniards of the vantage, toke another bulwarke, which was planted in the largest and fayrest streete of the Citie, and pursued the enemy to another drawe bridge, which remayned, but with one posse of beame, vpon the which many of the Indians passed ouer, and then toke y<sup>e</sup> beame awayne and abode to defende the place: but when our men approached & sawe how the matter went, Cortez commaunded two pieces of Ordnance to be broughte, with the which, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the *Mexicans*, who began to fainte, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstode, certayne Spaniards swā ouer where the drawe bridge was, w<sup>th</sup> their weapons in their mouthes. But when the enemy sawe them passe ouer, they began, as well from that place as from the house toppes, zoties and bulwarke, which they had defended for the space of two houres, to flie. Cortez and his whole army beyng passed ouer, he commaunded to damme vpon that broken place of the drawe bridge,

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with



with earth, rubbish, and stones, and proceeding forward they came to an other bridge which had no bulwarke, but was neare one of the chiefest places of the citie, and there placed a peece of ordinaunce wherewith they dyd great hurte, and seying them now past all the bridges, they determined to enter into the harte of the Citie. When the *Mexicans* perceyued their determination, they beganne to prouide euery one for himselfe, for some fledde one way and some another, but the mosse wente to the great temple of Idols. The *Spaniards* and theyr friends pursued after them, and among the throng gotte into the Temple, where they slewe many, and at length they wente vp into the high tower, and there threwe downe the idols, among whome they made a great spoyle.

*Quahutimoc* beganne to reprehensive his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselves together, and considering theyr ouersight, and that there were no horses, began a freshe to sette vpon the *Spaniards*, and with force and strength draue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them truste to their fate. But when *Cortes* sawe his menne come flying, he caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemy, declaring vnto them how shamefull a thyng it was to flie: But seeing the strength and multitude of their enemies, they had no other remedie but onely to retire to the greates market place, yea & from thence also they were expelled, and lost a peece of their ordinaunce. But beyng now in this extremitie, there came thre horsemen who played the valiant men and made way through the troupe of enemies, who at the sight of the horses began to flie, and our men to follow with suche harte and courage, that in short time they wan the great temple agayne: then came other fire horsemen who ioyned with the other thre, and lay in ambushe, where they slew 30. *Mexicans*. The day being now farre



farre spent, and the nighte at hande, Cortes commanded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandemēt, hadde not so sone turned their backs, but an infinite number of enimies were at their hēles, who if it hadde not bin for the Hozlemen, had slayne many Spanyards, for they came vpon them like rauening dogges without any feare, yet with the succoure of the Hozlemen, the enimie was putte agayne to flighte, and our men burned many houses, to annoyde at their next coming the daunger of stones whiche were thzowen from their toppes. The other Captaynes, who were Sandoual and Aluarado, fought valiantly on the other side of the Citie.

The great hurt and dammage in the  
houses of Mexico with fire.



In this meane while, Don Hernando of Tezcuco, wente throughout his Lordship, to allure his vassall to the seruite and friendship of Cortes, according to his former promise: and whether it were seying the Spanyards prosperitie in the sēge of Mexico, or otherwise, he bzoughte almost the whole prouince of Culhuacan, whiche is vnder the goernemente of Tezcuco, with fire or seauen of his owne bzēthzen, for more he could not, although he had more than a hundred bzēthzen, as hēreafter shall be declared. One of them named Izlixuchilh bēyng a valiant yong man, of the age of foure and twenty yeares, he appoynted generall Captayne ouer fiftie thousande men of warre, well armed and trimmed according to their fashion. Cortes byd friendly recepuē and welcome them, giuing them greate thanks for their ayde and good willes. Of these new come men, he toke into his owne host thirtie thousande,

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and

and deuided the residue equally among the other Cap-  
taynes.

This was a sorrowfull newes to the *Mexicans*, to  
heare of the succoure which *Don Hernando* hadde sente to  
serue *Cortes*, and with-holden the same from them, yea and  
also among them were come kinsmen, brethren, and fa-  
thers to many of them which were in *Mexico* in the ser-  
uice of *Quahuitimac*.

Two dayes after that these menne were come, there  
came also men of *Xochmilco*, and certayne husbandmen of  
the *Pouitaines*, who spake the *Otomilch* speech, beseeching  
*Cortes* to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both  
men and vittayles for the siege. *Cortes* was pleased wyth  
their coming and gentle offer, for they being his friends,  
he was assured of them of *Culhuacan*, and sayd vnto them,  
withyn these thre dayes (God willing) I wil combat the  
Citie, therefore againste that time I praye you prepare  
your selues accordingly, and therein shall I knowe whe-  
ther you are my friends or no: and with this aunswere  
they departed, promising to fulfill his request, as they  
did in dede. This done, he sente thre *Vergatines* to *Sando-  
ual*, and other thre to *Aluaredo*, for to disturbe anye suc-  
coure that mighte come from the land to the Citie, and  
likewise to defende and ayde the Spanyardes at all  
times, when they would land vpon the calley, to combat  
the Citie, for he well vnderstode howe profitable those  
vessels would be nere vnto the byldges.

The Captaynes of the *Vergatines* ceased not night and  
day to runne the coast and Townes of the lake, where  
they toke manye boates from the enemies, laden with  
men and victuall, and permitted none to come into the  
Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The daye appointed to the enemies for the combate,  
*Cortes* made his prayers vnto God, & then enformed each  
Captayne

Captayne what he should do, and came forth with twentie horsemen, three hundred Spanyardes, and a great number of *Indians*, with their peeces of Ordnance, and where in three or foure dayes befoze they had not skirmished, time serued the *Mexicans* at will to open al those places which were dammed vp befoze, and also to bulde better bullwarkes thā those which were throwen downe, attending with that horrible noyse accustomed. But whe they sawe the *Vergantines* on eache side, they joy was turned into sorowe, and beganne to sainte, the whiche oure men vnderstood well, and therewith alanded themselves vpon the calsey, and waime the bullwarke and the bidge. Our army procedyng forward, set vpon the enimies, vntill they came to another bidge, the whiche was likewise wonne in shorte time, and this pursued from bidge to bidge, alwayes fighting, vntill they had bzluen them from the Calsey and Strætes.

Cortes for his part lost no time, for he with tenne thousande *Indians* laboured to damme vp againe the fluses and broken places of the bidges, making the way plaine both for Horsemen and footemen: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand *Indians* were occupied therein from the morning vntill the evening.

The other Spanyardes and *Indian* friends skirmished continually, and slew many of their enimies. Likewise the Horsemen so scoured the Strætes, that the enimies were forced to locke them vp in their houses & Temples. It was a notable thing to see how our *Indians* played the menne that daye againste the Citizens: sometimes they would chalenge them the fiede: other times they would conuite them to supper, and shewe vnto them legges, armes, and other peeces of mān flesh, saying behold your owne flesh which shal serue for our supper and brekefast, and to morrowe we will come for more, therefore fye not,  
you



you are valiant fellows, yet it were better for you to dye fighting than with hunger. And after all this speech, every one of them called vppon the name of his owne Towne with a loude voyce, setting fire vppon their houses. The *Mexicans* were replenished with sorrow, to see themselves so afflicted with Spaniards, but yet they sorrowe was the greater, to heare their owne vassals so raile againste them, saying and crying at their owne doores, victory, victory, *Tlaxcallan*, *Chalcho*, *Tezcucotl*, *Xochimilco*, and other Townes: the eating of their flesh graued them not, for they did the like.

*Cortes* seeing the *Mexicans* so stout and hard harted, with full determination eyther to defend themselves or else to dye, therevpon he bethought himselfe vppon two things, the one was, that he shoulde not obteyne the treasure whiche he had sene in the time of *Moteczuma*: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things graued him much, but especially the destruction of the citie. He ymagined with himselfe what he mighte doe, to bring them to acknowledge their error, and the hurt that mighte fall vpon them, and for these considerations he pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their idolles. He burned also the greate house wherein he was lodged before, and the house of soule which was nere at hand. There was not one Spaniard who had sene that magnificall building before, but lamented fore the sight: but to agræue the Citizens, it was commaunded to be burned. There was neuer *Mexican*, that thought any humaine force, how much lesse so few Spaniards, shoulde haue entred into *Mexico* in despite of them all, and to sette fire vpon their principallest edifices within the Citie. While this house was a burning, *Cortes* gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The *Mexicans* would sayne haue remedied the fire, but it was  
to

too late, and seeing our men retire, they followed wyth their nople accustomed, and slue some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the rest. The hozsmen reliened our men, and caused the ruting to retire, in such wise, that before night al our men were in safetie and the enimies in their houses, the one sorte full of sorowe, and the others wearied with fight and trauel. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning, and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those whiche wee haue spoken of, the Mergantines did the like where they wente, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

Things that happened to Pedro de

*Aluaro* through his bolde  
attempt.



*Pedro de Aluaro*, would passe his army to y<sup>e</sup> market place of *Tlalulco*, for he toke much payn & stode in perill in susceyning y<sup>e</sup> bridges which he had gotten, hauing hys sorte almost a league fro thence. And again, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as

well to get hono<sup>r</sup> as his general, and likewise being procured by his company, who sayde, that it were a shame for them if *Cortez* should winne that market place, being moze nearer vnto them, than vnto him: where vpon he determined to winne those bridges which as yet wer vntowne, and to place himselfe in the market place. He proceeded with all his army untill they came to another broke brydge, which was fiftie paces of length, and two

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Madome depe, the whiche with the helpe of the Mergantines, he toan in short space, and gave order to certaine of his men to damme it vppre substantially, and he himselfe pursued his enimies, with fiftie Spaniards. But when the Citizens sawe so few in number, and al softemen, (for the hozles coulde not passe the fluce so soone,) they came vpon them so sodainely & fiercely, that they made our men to turne their backs, and trust to theyr legges, yea and our men fel into the water, they knewe not which way. They slew many of our *Indians*, and four Spaniards, who forthwith they sacrificed, and ate their flesh in the open sight of al the army.

*Aluorado* saw his owne folly, in not beleauing *Cortes*, who had alwayes forewarned him, not to procede forward, vntil he had made the way sure behinde him: but *Aluorado* his counsellors payde their counsel with life. *Cortes* sorrowed for the same, for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counsel. But as a prudent captain, he considered the matter better, for euery house was then an *Ilande*, the calsey broken in many places, and the zotties or house toppes beset with stones, for these and such like places vnder *Quahurimoc*. *Cortes* went to see where *Aluorado* had pitched his campe, and also to rebuke him for that which was past, and to aduise him what he shold do: But when he came and found him so farre within the libertie of the Citie, and the daungerous places which hadde passed, he byd highly comend his valiaunt and good seruice: he also chormuned with him of manye things concerning the siege, and then returned to his owne campe.



The tryumph and sacrifice vvhich the  
*Mexicans made for their victorie.*



*C*ortez delayed the time to pitche his campe in the market place of *Mexico*, although daily his menn entrede and skirmished with in the Citie, for the causes befoze alleaged, and likewise to see if *Quahutimoc* would yield himself. And also the entrie could not be but very daungerous, for the great multitude of enimies that filled by the streates.

At his company *Spaniards* toynthly, with the kings Treasurer, seeing the determination of *Cortez*, and the hurt already receyued, besought and also required him to passe his campe vnto the market place: who answered them, that they had spoken like valsaunt men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, & we oughte to consider better of the matter: for why? the enimies are fully determined to ende their liues in defence of that place. But his men replied so muche, that hee was compelled to graunte to theyr requeste, and proclaymed the entraunce for the nexte daye following. Hee wrote also in his letters to *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, & to *Pedro de Aluarado*, the instructions of the things that they shoulde doe, whiche was in effect, to *Sandoual*, that hee shoulde remoue hys campe wyth all hys sardage, as though he woulde retire and fye, and that vppon the calsey he shoulde haue tenne horsemen in ambuyshe, behinde certayne houses to the intent that when the Citizens shoulde espie the sie, and woulde pursue after, the to passe betwixt them and home with the said horsemen, &

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after

after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with al his army shoulde come where *Pedro de Alvarado* aboade, with other tenne horsemen, a hundred footemen, and the *Jaube* of *Mergantines*, and leauing with hym his men, should then take thre of the *Mergantines*, and to prature to winne that broken brydge, where *Alvarado* of late receiued the foyle: and if he fortunied to wyne that place, that then he should damme it vp, and make it sure, befoze he passed anye further: and the like order he gaue vnto him for al other broken places that he should passe.

Vnto *Alvarado* he gaue commission, that he shoulde passe as farre into the Citie as he myght possible, requiring him also to send vnto him eightie Spaniardes. He also appointed the other seauen *Mergantines*, to passe into both the lakes, with thre thousand *Canoas*. He deuided likewise all his army into thre companies, bycause they had thre wayes to enter into the citie. By the one of these wayes or *Streates*, entred the *Treasurer* and *Auditor*, with seauentye Spaniardes, twentie thousande *Indians*, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with pickeaxes and shouels, and many other yble felowes, to cary earth and stones, and to fill vp the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

The secende *Streete* he commended to *George de Alvarado* and *Andres de Tapia*, with eightie Spaniardes, tenne thousande *Indians*, two pieces of Ordnance, and eight horsemen. *Cortes* himsele toke the thirde way, wyth a great number of friendes, and a hundred Spaniardes footemen, of the whiche were twentye five with *Crosse bowes* and *Harquebushes*, and commaunded his horsemen which were eight in number, to abide there behinde, and not to follow after, until he shold sende for them. In thys order, and al at one instant, they entred the Citie, the twi  
ing

ing the harts of valiaunt men, greatly annoyng the enemy, and wan many brydges, but when they came neare vnto þ̄ towne house called *Tianquiztli*, there gathered together such a number of the *Indian* friendes, who befoze theyz eyes scaled, entred, and robbed their houses, that they thought assuredly, that þ̄ same day the citie had bin wonne. Cortez commaunded that they should procede no further, saying, that they had done sufficientl̄y for that day, for also he feared afterclappes. He likewise demanded whether all the broken brydges were made sure, in the whych (quoth he) consisteth the peril and victorie. But those that went with the Treasurer, following victorie and spoyle, had left a brydge not well dammed vp, but verye hollowe and false, the whiche was of twelue paces broad, and two fadom in depth. When Cortez was aduertised hereof, he went thither to remedy the same, but he was no soner come, when he sawe his men fleeing, and leaping into the water, with feare of the cruel enemies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came also along the calsey manye *Indian* boates of enemies, who toke many of þ̄ *Indian* friendes and Spaniards alike. When Cortes and other fiftene persons, which were with him, serued for no other purpose but to helpe out of the water those that were fallen, some came wounded, and others halfe drowned, and without armour: yea and the multitude of enemies so beset Cortes, and his fiftene companions, who wer helping their mē, and so occupied in the same, that they had no regarde to their owne peril. Whereupon certaine *Mexicans* layd hād vpon Cortes, who truly they had carried away if it had not bin for one *Francisco de Olea* his seruāt, who cut off at one blowe the armes of them that had hold of him, and he by the enemies was immediately slain, so that he died to save his maisters life. Then came *Antonio de Quinonez*

A kinde  
harted cag-  
taine.

*Ab. iij.*

Captaine



captaine of the guard, who caught Cortes by the arme, & by force pluckt him out of the throng of enimies, w<sup>th</sup> whom valiantly he fought. But the with the same that Cortez was prisoner, came many Spaniards, among wh<sup>o</sup> was one horseman, who made some roome, but in short space they thrust him through the throte with a lance, and made him to retire. The fight ceased a little, & Cortes had a horse brought vnto him, on the which he lightlye amounded, and gathering his men togither, came to the streete of Tlacopan, whiche was large and faire. There died Guzman his Chamberlayne, giuing a horse vnto his maister, whose death was much lamented among them all, for he was a man valiant, honeste, & welbeloued. There fel also into the water two horses, the one was saued, but the other was killed by the Indians. As the Treasurer and his company were combatting a bulwarke, the enimies threw out of a window three Spaniards heads vnto them, saying, the like they would do with their heads, if they went not from thence the soner. They seeing this sight, and likewise considered the great hurte and spoyle made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The Mexican Priestesses went by into the Towres of Tlatelulco, and made their fires in chafing dishes, and put therevnto the swete gumme of Copalli in token of victorie, and forthwith stripped fiftie Spaniards captiues as naked as they were bozne, and with their fine rasors opened them in the breastes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols, and sprinkled their bloud in the ayre. Our men seeing before their eyes the doleful sight, would faine haue gone to reuenge the cruel custome. But as time then required they had ynough to doe, to put themselues in sauetie through the great troupe of Indians which came vpon them, who now feared neither horse

horse nor sword. This day as ye haue heard, were fortie Spaniards sacrificed, and Cortes wounded in one of his legges, and thirtie more of his men: they losse a piece of Ordnance, and foure horses. Also that day was slayne above two thousand Indian friends, and many Canoes lost and the Mergantines in great daunger, and the captain and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day were also slaine foure of Aluado his men, that daye was an unfortunate or dismal day, and the nyght heauy, sorrowfull and replenished with lamentable griefe among the Spaniards and their friends. On the other side, the Mexica's triumphed with ioy, and made great bonafiers, blew their hornes, stroke vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted, and dranke themselves drunk: they also opened their streets and bridges, as they were before, and placed their scout and watch about the Citie. And as soon as it was day, the king *Quehwtimoc*, sent two Chyistians heads, and two horse heads into all the comarcas there aboute, to signifye their victorie and to require them to forsake the Chyistians friendship, promising in short space to make the like ende of all those that remayned, and deliuer the countrey from warre, these things encouraged some provinces to take armour againste Cortes being his allied friends, as *Malinalco* and *Cuixco*. This newes was soon blowne abroad into many provinces, wherevpon our men feared rebellion among their new friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased god that it fel out otherwise. The next day Cortes came out againe to fight, to shewe face to the enemies, but he turned againe from the first bridge, without doing any great act.

The

The determination of Cortez to de-  
stroy the citie of Mexico.



*Chichimecatl*, a noble man  
of *Tlaxcallan*, (who hadde  
brought the Timber of *y*  
*Alegantines*, fro whence  
it was wrought, and was  
placed in the companys  
of *Alvarado* at the begin-  
ning of the siege of *Mexi-*  
*co*,) seeing that the Spa-  
niards fought not as they  
wer wont to do, he alone

with *y* men of his owne countrey, went forth to cōbate  
the Citie, being a thing which tofore he had not attēp-  
ted, gaue assault against those which defended a certain  
brydge, and with great noyse cryed and named his Citie  
and lynage, and in short space waune the brydge, where  
he leste foure hundred archers, and followed after the  
enimie, who of industrie fledde, thinking to take  
him at his returne, and at length the enemy returned  
vppon him, where they made a sayre skirmishe, for the  
fight was equall. There were many hurt and slaine on  
both sides, so that with the dead carcases they supped  
at will. But they thoughte to ouerthrowe him at the  
brydge, not knowing of *y* foure hundred archers which  
were there to attend *Chichimecatls* coming, by meanes  
of whome, he passed at pleasure, to the greate griefe  
of the *Mexicans*, yea and remayned not a little ama-  
zed to see the valoz and bolde attempte of the *Tlaxcal-*  
*tecas*.

The



The Spanyards likewise highly commended the fact, for where our men combated not as they were wont to do, the *Mexicans* imagined that the cause was cowardize, infirmities, or want of vittayles: whereupon one daye at the sunne rising, they set upon *Aluado* his Camp, whiche being espied by the watch, they began to crye, arme, arme, who came forth as well footemen as horsemen, and put them to flight, at whiche retire many of the *Mexicans* were drownded, and others sore hurt and wounded. Then said the *Mexicans*, that they desired to talke with *Cortez*, who came vnto a native bridge to knowe what they would haue, vnto whome sometime they sayd, that peace was their request, and other times they demanded truce, but finally required that the Spanyards shoulde departe from that Countrey. All this politie was but to test what strength and courage our menne had, and to haue truce for a certayne time, for to prouide them of such necessaries as they wanted, for their determinate purpose was, to dye in the defence of their countrey and religion. *Cortez* answered, that truce was not conueniente for eyther partie, but peace was laudable at al times, the while the for his parte, although he hadde besieged the Citie, should not be denyed: therfore he willed them to wey his plentifull estate of vittayles, and their owne neede and necessitie of the same. They being in this communication with their interpreters, appeared an ancient old man on the toppe of the Bulwarke, who in the sighte of them all, pluckt bread out of his satchell peece by peece, and began to eat, giuing them to vnderstand, that they stood in no neede of vittayles, and so made an ende of their talke.

The siege of this Citie seemed a long tyme to last, for in nere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet could not he bying his desire to passe, yea and much more

Fr.

uelled.

ueiled that the enimies coulde endure so long a season with dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace and concord, knowing how many thousands of them had bin slayne, and ended their miserable lines with hunger. Yet once agayne he sente this last message vnto them, that if they woulde not yelde themselves, then he hauing them enuironed by land and water, woulde sea the all, and not permitte anye kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that theyr extremitie shoulde be so greate, that they shoulde eate one another: their aunswere was, that firste the Spanyardes shoulde tast of the same cuppe, so that thezearning increased their courages, and occupied themselves in carrying stones to the market place, and many other strêtes, to stoppe the way against the Hoyses and their maisters.

Cortes, although it græued him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bring all the houses of the strêtes that he shoulde winne to be equall with the ground, and to stoppe with them the Channels of water. He cōmuned the matter with his Captaynes, who liked well of his intente, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen Indians hys friends of his determination, who highly commended his denice.

Cortes seeing the towardness of all his armye, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeares and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting hys men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he began to cobate the strête, which goeth directly to the market place, then fainely the Citizē desired peace. Cortes stayed, and asked for their King: they answered, that they had sent for him, whereupon Cortes taried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throwe stones, and shot at him, The Spanyards seeing this, gaue the order,

and



and wanne a forte, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleansed the streetes of the stones whiche they had laide to disturbe their passage, and stopped so vp the water strate in that place, in suche wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the entrance into the Citie an open playne high way, and then retired to their camp. Also sixe dayes arowe they did the like, without receyuing any hurt, saving the last day two horses were hurt.

The next day Cortes laide an ambush with fiftie horsemen, and sent befoze him the Tergantines, but hee himselfe with thirtie horsemen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They foughte that day in many places of the Citie, and at the retire, one shot of a hand-gun, whiche was the token that those which lay in ambush should come forth. The enemies folowed our men, that seemed to flie with marvellous greate courage. But they were not so sone passed the snare, when Cortes came forth with his thirtie horsemen, saying, vpon them, vpon them: By this onely meane were slaine above five hundred *Mexicans*, besides the prisoners.

Our *Indian* friends had a good supper that nyght with mans fleshe, whiche as yet they would not be perswaded to leaue. Certaine Spaniards went vppe into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchre, where they found five hundred Castellins in golde: With this ouerthrowe the *Mexicans* remayned in suche feare, that all their threatnings and triumphes were turned into mourning: and euer after whē they saw our men retire, they would not folow them, fearing the like danger, so that this was a meane, the sooner to winn *Mexico*.

¶.¶.

The



The hunger and infirmitie vvhich the

*Mexicans suffered with greate courage.*



Two poore soules who were bered wyth hunger, came in the night season out of the citie vnto Cortes his Camp, who certified, how the Citizens were in greate necessitie, and so manye dead with hunger and sicknesse, that there were heapes of dead bodyes in the houses, only to keepe close their extreame miserie: and said also, that in the night season manye came out to fische betwene the houses with feare of the *Mexicans*, and others came out to seeke for woode, hearbes, and rotes to eate.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the troth thereof, so that the nexte night he commaunded the *Mexicans* to goe round about the Citie, and he himselfe with fiftene Horsemen, a hundred footemen, and manye Indian friends, placed themselues betwixt certaine houses, with order to his espies, to aduertise him what they shoulde see. It was no sooner day, but manye poore folke came out to seeke for foode, and when Cortes had intelligence thereof, he made a greate slaughter among them, whereas at that time of vnarmed men, women, and chyl-dren, were slayne to the number of eyght hundred: and the *Mexicans* on their side made another spoyle. The pitiful noise being heard into the Citie, the Citizens were astonied, and knew not what to doe, fearing the like ambush that they had seene and fealt the day before, & also wondering, that at such an houre not accustomed, the Spaniards were so nigh. The next day following, being S. James his euen, Cortes entred againe into the Citie, according as he had dohe before, and wanne the stræte of *Tlacopan*, where he burned the riche and faire houses

A cruell  
fact of  
Cortez.

of

of king *Quabutumoc*, whiche were motted round aboute: so that nowe of foure partes of the citie, thre partes were wonne, and the Spaniardes might safely passe from *Cortes* his campe, to the campe of *Aluaro*, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe playne with the grounde.

But yet the poore *Mexicans* would say to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, goe to, go to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that ye shall buylde them againe at your owne coste. For if we haue victoꝝy then shall ye buylde them for vs, and if we be ouercome then shall ye buylde them for these straungers.

Within foure dayes after, *Cortes* entred the citie againe, and also *Aluaro* on his side, who to shewe his haultie stomacke, laboured all that was possible to gette two towlers of the temple of *Tlatelulco*, the whiche at the length he wan, although he losse thre horses in the cobat.

The next day following, the horsemen walked vp and downe in the greate market place at pleasure, the poore *Mexicans* beholding that sorrowful sight fro their houses. And as the Spaniardes wente walking in the citie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, *treates*, and in the water: they found also the barke of trees and rootes gnawen by the hungry creatures, and the men so leane and yellow, that it was a pitifull sighte to beholde. *Cortes* yet againe required them to yelde, and they although they were so leane of body were strong in harte, and answered that he should not speake of any friendshippe, nor yet hope of their spoyle, for when no fortune would fauour them, then they woulde either burne their treasure, or throwe it into the lake, where they should neuer profite thereby, and that they would fight while one alone shoulde remaine aliue. At *Cortes* his nexte entry into the citie, he founde the *treates* full of women, children, olde  
 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

A true pros-  
 pect.

An ex-  
 treme pe-  
 nuria.

Ex. ij.

folke



folke, and many miserable sicke persons whiche were perishing for want of foode.

Cortes commaunded that none of his army should doe any hurte vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sounde, they stood in their forties or house toppes, without weapon, and clothed in mantels. It was thought that they kepte a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they answered with dissimulation. The next day following Cortes required *Aharado* on his side to combat a streete of .1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would doe the like on the other side: for a little space the Citizens defended themselves, but their defence endured not, but were giuen to sle, being not able to resist the force of the contraries. So that the Spanishe army wan also that streete, and slewe 12000. Citizens, the murder was so great because the *Indian* friends would shewe no mercie or compassion vpon them, although they were required to the contrary. So that now the *Mexicans* hauing lost this streete also, the houses that were not beat downe could scarcely hold the people y were aliue, the streetes also being so full of dead carcasses and sicke bodie, that our men could not passe but must needs treade vpon them. Cortes desirous to see what remayned of the cittie to win, went by into a high tower, and hauing well viewed the Cittie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And y next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall commaundement giuen to his army, not to kil any but only such as should resist.

The sorrowfull Citizens bewayling their vnfortunate fate & destinie, besought the Spaniards to make an ende, and to kill them all out of hande. Then certayne of the horsemen called Cortes in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hoppyng of some agreement of peace: and standing at the bypping of the water neare vnto a drawe  
bridge.



brydge, the *Mexicans* sayde, oh captayne *Cortes*, considering that thou art the childe of the Sunne, why doest thou not entreate the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh thou Sunne that canst goe rounde about the worlde in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of vs, and take vs out of this miserable lyfe, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetzanath* who tarieth for vs. After these speeches they made a lamentable crie, calling vpon their Goddes with loude voyces. *Cortes* answered what he thought good, but yet could not perswade them to yelde, truely it was a pitefull sight to beholde.

A sorowfull tale.

### The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.



*Cortes* seeing the great extremitie that these poyse wretched people were in, thinking now that they woulde yelde vnto him, therevppon he spake to an vncle of *Don Hernando de Texcoco*, who was taken prisoner thre dayes befoze, whom he desired to go to the king & treat of peace: this Gentleman refused the message, knowing the determinate will of *Quahutemoc*, but through much entreatie he graunted to his request. So the next day follovyng *Cortes* entred into the Cittie, & sent that Gentleman & certaine Spaniardes befoze him. The Indian guards of that streete receyued him with the honour which vnto such a noble man did appertayne. He proceeded forthward toward the king, & being comethere he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When *Quahutemoc* had hearde his tale, he was so moued with yre & choller, that forthwith he commaunded him to be sacrificed, and gaue the Spaniardes for theyr answer blowes with stones, staves and arrowes, saying also that they desired death and no peace, and fought so stoutly that day, that they slewe many of our menne, and one boyle. Lykewise on their side many were slayne.

An embassage vnto the king.

The

The next day Cortes entred the cittie agayne, but he sought not, hoping then that they woulde submitte themselves, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came nere unto a certayne bulwarke on horsebacke, and spake vnto certayne Gentlemen with whome he was acquainted, saying that now within a shorthe space he could make an ende of their finall destruction, but yet of meate compassion he wished it not, for the loue whiche he bare vnto them, so that they woulde in time reder themselves: wherefore (quoth he) entreate ye the king to doe the same, and in so doying ye shalbe well vsed, and haue victuals sufficient. The Gentlemen hearing these wordes, fell on weeping, and answered, that now they knew well their error, and felte their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they were bounde to obey their king and Goddes. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we will certifie *Quahutimoc* what you haue sayde, and in shorthe space they went and returned againe, saying that the next day without fayle their Lord woulde come and talke with him in the markette place. With this answere Cortes returned to his campe, and thought at their meeting to conclude an honorable peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chayre of estate to be sette in the markette place, accordyng to the Mexican vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day followyng came Cortes at the houre appoynted, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: neuertheless he sente fve noble men to treat of the matter, excusing the kyng, saying he was not well at ease. Cortes welcomed those Gentlemen, and was gladd of their coming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good end. And when they had dined and well reffreshed their hungry bodies, Cortes gaue them victuals, and desired them to returne agayne to the King, and to declare vnto him that without his ptesence the conclusion coulde not be certaine.



certayne. They wente and returned againe within two houres, and brought vnto Cortes certayne mantels made of cotten woll, very good & well wrought, with answere that the king would not come in any wise, both for shame and feare. And the next day these messengers came again, saying that the king would come to the place appointed. But yet he came not, although Cortes attended his coming more than foure houres: who seeing the mockerie, he forthwith sente Sandoval with his Alargantines one way, and he himself went an other, combatting the houses & fortres that yet remayned, where he founde small resistance, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slayne and taken prisoners aboue .40000. persons, & then he retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and children woulde haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noysome. That night Cortes purposed to make an end the next day of the warres, and Quahutimoc pretended to flee, and for that purpose had embarked hymselfe in a Canoe of twentie ores. When the day appeared Cortes, with his men, and foure peeces of ordinance, came to the corner where those that yet remayned were shut vp, as cattell in a pounde. He gaue order to Sandoval and Aluaredo what they shold do, which was, to be ready with their Alargantines, and to watche the coming out of the Canoes whiche were hidden betwixte certayne houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurt him, but to take him aliue. He commaunded the residue of his men to force the Mexican boates to goe out, and he himselfe wente vp into a tower, inquiring for the king, and there founde Xihnacoa, gouernour and Captayne generall of the Cittie, who woulde in no wise yelde himselfe. Then came out of the Cittie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childre to take boate. The throng



was so great with halt to enter the *Canas*, that many by that means were drowned in the lake. Cortes required his me not to kill those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends, who slew and sacrificed about fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumour among the canion people, that the king would die, making a piteous moone and saying that they forowfull creatures knew not whither to goe: But yet procuring to goe into the *Canas*, whiche were so full that there was no room for the, by reason thereof many were drowned.

The men of warre stood in the house toppes and yoties beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of *Mexico* were embarked with the king. Then Cortes gave signe with the shotte of a handgunne, that his captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in short space they wanne fully and wholly the great Citie of *Mexico*. The Tergantines likewise brake in among the flete of boates, without any resistance, and euery one sought where he might best succour himselfe, the Royall Standarte was beaten downe. Garcia Holguin, who was captayne of a Tergantine, had espied a great *Canoa* of .xx. oyes deepe laden with men. And one of his pyloners sayde vnto him, that the king wente in that greate *Canoa*. Holguin being gladd of the newes, gaue chase to that *Canoa* and ouertooke him. In his foreship he had thre crossebowe men. And when Quahutimoc who stood on the puppe of the *Canoa* ready to fight, sawe those bowes ready bent, and many drawn swordes, he yielded himselfe, declaring that he was the king. Garcia Holguin being a gladd man of his pyloner, toke and carried him vnto Cortes who receiued him reuerently. When Quahutimoc came neare vnto him, he layde his hand vpon Cortes his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibility to defende me and mine, accordyng to my dutie, hoping not to haue come to this estate and place where

where now I stande: And considering that you may doe with me what you please, I beseeche you to kill me, and that is my only request. Cortes comforted him with faire words, giuing him hope of life and senioꝝ, and tooke him by into a zotic, requiring him to commaund his subiectes to yelde and render themselves: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thre score and tenne thousande persons, who in seing their Prince, threwe downe their weapons, and submitted themselves.

### The taking of Mexico.



By the order before declared, wanne *Hernando Cortes* the famous cittie of Mexico, on tuesday being the xij. of August, *An. 1521.* in remembrance wherof, and of the great victoꝝ, euery yeere on that day they make a sumptuous

feast & solemne procession, wherin is carried the standart royall, with the whiche the cittie was won. The siege endured thre moneths, & had therein. 200000. Indians. 900. Spaniards. 80. horses. 17. peces of ordinaunce, 13. *Arquebuses*, & 6000. *Canoes*. In this siege were slayne fiftie Spaniards & five horses, & no great number of the Indians their friends. There was slaine on the contrary side a hundred thousand, and some affirme many moe: but I speake not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the cittie were al the nobilitie, by reason wherof many were slayne. The multitude of people was great, who ate litle, dranke salt water, and slept among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench: for these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered, their stedfast determination, for although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were dyuyned to eat bougbes, ryndes of trees, and to drinke salt



water, yet woulde they not yelde themselves. But at the lasse they woulde haue submitted them, and then their kyng *Quahurimac* woulde not, bycause at the begynnyng they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, shoulde appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in theyr houses to keepe that secrete from theyr enemies. Here also is to be noted, that although the *Mexicans* ate mans flesh, yet they ate none of their owne Cittie or friends, as some doe thynke: for if they had, there woulde not so many haue died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not onely bycause they aboade with their husbands and Fathers, but also for the greates paynes they toke with the sicke and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fitte for the same, and throwing stones from the sories, for therein they dyd as much hurte as their men. The Cittie was yeldd to the spoyle, and the Spanyardes toke the Golde, Plate and Jewels, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe.

*Cortes* commaunded greates bonfires to be made in token of victorie, and also to mortifie the horrible stench of the dead bodies, whome he lykelwise commaunded to be buried, and some of the prisoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings slaues, and pardoned all the residue. He commaunded the *Tecugantines* to be brought ashore, and appoynted one *Villafuerte*, with 80. men to garde the, fearyng least the *Mexicans* shold set fire or otherwise destroy them. In this busynesse he occupied himself foure dayes, & then remoued his campe to *Culhuacan*, where he rendred hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friends, promysing to gratifie their god and faythfull seruice, desiring them to departe home to theyr houses, considering the warre was at an end, where vpon



whereupon they departed almost all in generall, both rich and iocund with the spoyle of *Mexico*, and also to re- mayne in the fauour and grace of *Cortes*.

### Maruellous signes and tokens of the destruction of *Mexico*.

**N**ot long before *Hernando Cortes* came vnto the newe *Spayne*, did many nightes after the midnichte appeare in the aire, and in the same port and place where *Cortes* entred into that land, great lightning of fire, whiche as mounted vppward, and suddaynely vaded away. The *Mexicans* at that time saw flames of fire toward the orient, where now *Vera Cruz* standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that seemed to touche the heauen and earth: this sight was fearefull vnto them.

They also saw the figures of armed men fighte in the aire one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with ymaginations: for when there was a prophetic spoken of among them, how that white men with bearded should come and rule their kingdome in the time of *Mutezuma*. The Lordes of *Texcoca* and *Tlacopan* were much amazed, saying, that the sword whiche *Mutezuma* hadde, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had seen in the ayre, with their apparell and attire. *Mutezuma* had muche adoe to pacifie them, saying that the weapon and apparell was of his forefathers, and because they should see the troth thereof, he gaue them the sword, and willed them to breake it if they coulde, and they prouing to breake the same and could not, they maruelled thereat, and also were resoluod of their opinions.

It shoulde seme, that a little before these things happened,

pened, some of *Mutezuma* his subiectes founde a chest of apparell and a sword in it on the sea coast, which came floating out of some shippe that had wracked there about, and brought it to their prince. Others affirme, that the cause of alteration among the noble men, was, when they saw the sword and apparell that *Cortes* had sent vnto *Mutezuma* by *Tendilli*, seeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures whiche they had sent in the ayre, but howsoeuer it was, they beleued with these new tokens, that their Kingdome shoulde haue an ende, when they saw those straungers come into their Countrey.

The same yeare that *Cortes* came into Mexico, appeared a vision vnto a certaine *Malli*, which is to say, a slave taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his death and Sacrifice, bewayled his sorrowfull ende, calling vpon the God of Heauen, who at that instante saue in spirite a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding hym not to feare that death, for the God whome he had called vpon, would haue mercy vpon hym, willing hym also to say vnto the priests and ministers of the Idols, that their wicked sacrifice and bloodshedding was nere at an ende, and that there was a people at hand, that shoulde take away all that wicked and abominable religion.

This *Malli* was sacrificed in the midst of the market place of *Tlatelulco*, where at this daye is the place of execution.

They remembred, and noted well the wordes of the *Malli*, and the vision whiche they called a breath from heauen.

The earth also brake open, out of the whiche issued a marvellous greate streame of water, with many greate fishes, which they iudged and held for a strange pronostication.

The *Mexicans* did repozte, that when on a time *Mute-*

*zuma*

*Quetzuma* came triumphantly with victorie of *Xochimilco*, said vnto the Lord of *Culhuacan*: *Polu* (quoth he) *Mexico* is strong and invincible, for I haue in subiection *Xochimilco*, and other prouinces, so that now I am without feare of any enemye. The Lord of *Culhuacan* answered, saying, trust not good King too muche, for one force forceth another, with the whiche answered, *Moteczuma* was not a little offended. But when *Cortes* hadde taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talke, and held that saying for a prophesie.

### The building vp agayne of

*Mexico,*



*Cortes* pretended to redifie againe the Citie of *Mexico*, not onely for the situation and maiestie, but also for the name & great fame thereof, and also to builde vp that which he hadde beaten downe, by reason whereof he travelled to make this Citie greater, better, and to be more replenished with people. He named and appoynted Judges, Aldermen, Attourneys, Towne-clerke, Notaries, Shauengers, and Seriants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. He deuided the Citie among the Conquerors, hauing first taken out places for Churches, market places, townehouse, and other necessarie plottes to builde houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, so that the water passeth and maketh diuision betwixt them. Hee procured many *Indians* to come to the building of the Citie, for avoiding charges, although therein he had somewhat to do, by reason that many kinsmen of *Quahutimac* were not as yet come vnder obedience.

He



He made Lorde of *Texcoco*, *Don Carlos Ixtlixochitl*, by the consent of the Citie, in place of *Don Hernando* his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded many of his vassals to labour in the workes, because they were Carpenters, masons, and builders of houses. He promised also to them that were naturals of the Citie of *Mexico*, plottes to build vpon, inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that woulde come and inhabite there, whiche was a meane to allure many thither. He sette also at libertie *Xihuaco* the generall Captainne, and made him chiefe ouer the *Indians* in the Citie, vnto whome he gaue a whole strête. He gaue likewise another strête to *Don Pedro Mutezuma*, who was sonne to *Mutezuma* the King. All this was done, to winne the fauoure of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Islands and strêtes to builde vpon, and to inhabite, and in this order the whole scituation was repaired, and the worke began with great ioy and diligence: but when the same was blowen abroad, that *Mexico* should be built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie & freedome, the number was so greate, that in a whole league compasse was nothing but people both men and women. They laboured sore, and ate little, by reason whereof, many sickned, and pestilence followed, whereof dyed an infinite number. Their paines was great, for they bare on their backs, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lyme, bricke, and all other things necessary in this sort, and by little and little, *Mexico* was built againe with a hundred thousande houses, moze stronger and better than the olde building was. The Spaniards also built their houses after the Spanissh fashion. Cortes built his house vpon the plote where *Mutezuma* his house stode, whiche renteth now yerelely foure thousand duckates a yere. *Pamfilo de*

Naruaez accused him for the same, saying, that he hadde spoiled the woddes and mountaynes, and spent seauen thousand beames of Cedar trees in the worke of his own house. The number seemeth more here than there, for where all the Mountaynes are replenished with Cedar trees, it is a small matter. There are Gardines in *Texcoco*, that haue a thousand Cedar trees for walles and circuite, yea and there are Cedar trees of a hundred & twenty foote long, and twelue foote in compasse from ende to end. They built faire dockes covered ouer with arches for 8 *Mergantines*, whereas (for a perpetuall memozie) all the thirtene *Mergantines* do remaine vntil this day. They dammed by the strates of water, where now faire houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, yea and since the yeare of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and sometime casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaynes that standeth round about it, and well prouided thzough the fertilitie of the Countrey, and commodities of the lake, so that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the worlde, and the most noble in all India, as well in armes as policie. There are at the least two thousande Citizens, that haue each of them his house in his skale, with riche furniture for them. There is also great contraction, and all sortes of occupations. Also a money house, where money is dayly coyned: a sayre schole, whiche the *Aizeroy* *Don Antonio de Mendosa* caused to be made. There is a greate difference betwixte an inhabitant of *Mexico*, and a *Conquero*, for a *Conquero* is a name of honoz, and hath landes and rentes, and the inhabitante oz onely dweller payeth rente for his house. When this Citie was a building, & not thzoughly furnished, Cortes came from *Culhuacan* to dwell there. The same of Cortes, and maiestie of *Mexico*, was blowen

Seauen  
thousand  
Cedar  
beames.

Zy.

abzoade



abroade into farre prouinces, by meanes whereof, it is now so replenished, as I haue before declared, yea & bath so many *Spaniards*, who haue conquered aboue 400. leagues of land, being all gouerned by the princely seate of *Mexico*.

**Hovv** the Emperour sent to take account  
of *Cortes* of his gouernement in the newe *Spain*.



**I**n these dayes *Cortes* was the man of the greatest name of all the *Spanish* nation, although many had defamed him, and especially *Pamilo de Narvaez*, who was in the Court of *Spain* accusing him. And where, of long time the Counsell of *India* had receyued no letters from him, they suspected, yea and belæued, whatsoeuer euil was spoken of him. Wherevpon they provided the Admirall *Don Diego Colon*, for Governour of *Mexico*, who at that time went to laue with the king, pretending the said office and many others, with condition to carrie at his owne coast a thousand men to apprehend *Cortes*. They provided also for Governour of *Panuco*, one *Nonia de Gusman*, and *Simon de Alcazara* portingall, for governour of *Honduras*. To kindle moze thys mischief, and to set this businesse forward, one *John de Ribera*, the Attourney of *Cortes*, was a fitte and an earnest instrument againste his maister, and the cause was, for falling out with *Martin Cortes*, father vnto *Hernando Cortes*, about foure thousand Duckates which *Cortes* had sent by him to his father. which money the said *Ribera* his Attourney kept to his owne vse, and therefore raised many slaunders against his maister, yea and credite was giuen to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon giuen him vppon a shaffolde, wherewith he was choked in the

The  
vvard of a  
kazar.



the chiefe time of his businesse: These newe officers, and their promissions, were not so secretly obteyned, but the matter was as secretly talked in the Courte, whiche at that time was abiding in the Citie of Toledo, and the proceedings seeme not ill vnto the friends of Cortes. The Commendadoz *Pedro de Pina* opened the matter to the *Licenciat Nouez*, and vnto father *Melgareio*, wherevppon they reclaymed of the Counsels determination, beseeching them to stay for a season, to see what newes should come from *Mexico*. Also the Duke of Bejar tendred the cause of *Hernando Cortez*, for that Cortez by promise of faith and troth, was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Lady *Jane de Zuniga*, who apleaked the Emperoure his anger, and the saide Duke became suretie to aunswere in all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arriued in *Spayne* *Diego de Zoto*, with a whole Coluerin made of siluer, and 70000. castlins in golde, the newes whereof was blowen ouer all *Spaine*. And to say the troth, this presente was y cause, that Cortes was not put out of his office, but a Judge of residence was sent thither to take an accompt of him. Now a wise and a learned man was sought for that purpose, yea suche a one as could rule the matter, for some souldiers are oftentimes vnnanerly: whervpo they thought the *Licenciat*, *Leues ponce de Leon* a fitte mā, who had bin Lieutenant to *Don Martin de Cordona*, Earle of *Aleandere*, chiefe gouernour of the citie of *Toledo*. This *Licenciate* with power sufficient, was sent vnto the new *Spaine*, who carried in his company as assistant, the bachelor *Marcus de Aguillar*, who hadde ruled in time past, in a worshipfull office of Justice in the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*.

With prosperous weather they departed from *Spayne*, and in shorte tyme arriued at *Vera Cruz*,

Cortez hauing newes of their arriuall by foote postes within two dayes. And vppon epistomer day came letters to Cortes from the Licenciado Ponce, with another letter from the Emperour, whereby he vnderstood y<sup>e</sup> cause of their coming. He returned backe incontinēt an answer, and desired to know which way he would come to Mexico, eyther by y<sup>e</sup> way inhabited, or else the other way which is neuer. The Licenciado replied, that he would for a while abide in Vera Cruz, to refresh himselfe, being seaficke, and a man y<sup>e</sup> had not heretofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that Cortes meante to haue done justice on certain offenders, yea & also to haue take hym by the way: wherefore he suspected, that Cortes had sent, by cause he would knowe whiche way he meant to come, wherevpon he secretly tooke post horse, with certaine Gentlemē, and other religious persons that came in hys company, & passed through the Townes, although it was the farther way, and made suche halt, that in fve dayes he came to Iztacpallapan, refusing the entertaynement and prouision of meate and lodging that Cortes had prepared by his Gentlemē, that wēt both the wayes to meete him.

In Iztacpallapā they receyued him with great feast and maiestie, but after dinner, the Licenciado fell a vomiting, and the most of hys companie, and after the vomite, they fell into a fire. They thoughte that certayne hearbes was the cause thereof, whiche were in a dishe of curdes. The Licenciado was somewhat grieved of the curdes, and toke the dishe, and offered it to father Thomas Ortiz, no (quoth the Steward) hys reverence shall haue another dishe, no (quoth father Ortiz) I will none of these, no yet of anye other, of whyche wordes there were afterwardees verses made, suspecting somethyng of the curdes: but truly there was no hurte, or anye euill thyng putte in them, (as hereafter shall

shalbe declared) for the *Comendador, Proano*, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dish that the *Licenciat* eate of, who neyther vomited nor yet receiued any hurle or alteration. But I thinke, that they comyng hoate, were and hungry, did eate too muche, and dranke also colde water, whereby their stomackes revolted, and thereof followed the fire with vomite. On the behalfe of *Cortes* there was presented to the *Licenciat* a riche present, but he refused it.

*Cortes* with all the flower of Gentlemen in *Mexico*, came to receiue him, and giuing him the right hand, they went together untill they came to *Saint Frances* abbay, where after their prayers made, *Cortes* demaunded to see the kings promissions, who answered, that the next day he would shew them vnto him; then they accompanied him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The next day following, all the magistrates of the Cittie mette the *Licenciat* in the cathedrall Church, and by acce. before the notary, he presented his auctoritie from the Emperour. He toke the *Wares of Justice* from the Judges and Sargeants, and incontinent restored them againe, and saide with gentle speach, this rodde of the Senor gouernour, I will haue for my selfe. *Cortes* with all the other Magistrates kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crowne of their heads, in token of great obedience, saying, that they would obserue and obey all that was therein containned, as the commaundement of their king and Lorde, requyring the same to be set downe by acce and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaymed the residence and account of iustice, of *Hernando Cortes*, to the intent that all persons who coulde accuse him of any vnrighful dealing, should come and make their complaint, and to haue remedy for the same. There should you then see the *stirre*



and talke among them, euery officer fearing his owne  
cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

### The death of the Licenciat

*Luis Ponce.*



He Licenciat comming one day from *Sains*  
*Frances* abbay from seruite, fell into an ex-  
treme burning feuer, and lay him downe  
in his bedde, where he remayned the space  
of thre dayes, as a man out of his wittes,  
and the feuer stil encreasing, so that on the  
seuenth day he yelded vp the ghost. In the time of his  
sickenesse he receiued the communion, and made his laste  
will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the ba-  
cheler *Martín de Aguillar*. Cortes made as greates sorow  
for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his fune-  
ralles were celebrated with great pompe.

A madd  
daunce.

The enimies of Cortes published, that he died of poison.  
But the Licenciat *Péro Lopez*, and Doctor *Hojeda*, who  
were his Whistions, swore that he died of a burning fe-  
uer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euening  
before he deceased, he desired them to play the measures  
vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with fir-  
ryng his fete the compasses and pointes of the daunce.  
It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith  
he lost his speach, and that night towarde the dawning of  
the day he yelded by his spirite. I thinke that fewe men  
do die dauncing, as this Lawier did. The number of a hun-  
dred persons came out of Spayne with the Licenciat,  
whereof the moste parte died by sea and on the lande. It  
was suspected to be a pestilence, for one of them infected  
another. There were in his company many Gentlemen  
each of them had an office. There was a Frier who was

a very slaunderous fellow, & reported that Cortes had paysoned the Licentiat, and also that the Licentiat had an express order from the Emperour to cut of Cortes his head, as soon as he had taken the Oare of Justice from him. The subtle Friar, had thought to haue gotten money of the one, and thanks of the other, and at the ende had nothing.

### How Cortez came into

Spayne.



Where one Alonso de Estrada governed the State of Mexico, as substitute of Marcus de Aguilar, according to the Emperours commaundement, Cortes considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue againe his office, except he went personally to the Emperours court, where he had many aduersaries and few friends, so that he was afflicted on every side: yet he in fine determined to goe into Spayne, as well for businesse of importancie of his owne, as also matters touching the Emperour and his new kingdoms whereof I will reherse particularly some.

As touching his owne causes, first he being a man of good partes, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leaue the profite of his labour and payne: also to appeare before the King his maister face to face, and to enforme his Maestie what Landes and Kingdomes hee had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie likewise vnto him, of the dissension among the Spanyardes his subiectes in Mexico, and to answer for himselfe, to any false reproches which had bene made against him: And finally, to receiue a conuigne reward for his worthie and faithfull seruice. As Cortes being in these imaginations, there was brought



brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father *Garcia de Loaysa* ghostly father vnto the Emperour, and afterwarde was ordeyned Cardinall, in the whiche letter he conuited him earnestly to come vnto Spayne, to the content that the Emperours Maieſtie mighte bothe see and know him, assuring him of his friendshippe. After the receypte of this letter, he made al the hast possible to departe vpon his iourney, ceasing from his voyage whiche he had in hande, for to inhabite the riuer *De las Palmas*. Befoze his departure he dispatched two hundred Spaniards, & thre score and ten hozslemen, with many *Mexicans* for the countrey of *Chichimea*, to inhabite there, finding the lande riche of siluer mines, as it was reported, giuing vnto those men expresse order, that if the people of that prouince did not entertayne them with friendship, that then they should accept the as enimies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them for slaues, for that they are a barbarous people. He wrote his letter to *Pera Cruz*, to prepare with all speede two good shippes, and for that purpose he sent *Pera ruz de Esquivel*, who was a Gentleman of *Seuill*: But he wente not on the iourney, for a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Island of the lake, with one hande out of the graue, whiche was eaten with dogges and foule: he was buried in his dublet and his hose: he had one onely wounde in his forehead: And a *Negro*, his slave, who wente in his company, was neuer hearde of, nor yet the *Canas* and *Indians* that wente with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer known.

*Cortes* made an Inuentary of his moveable goodes, whiche was valued at two hundred thousande Castlins of golde: he left for gouernour of his towne estate, the Licenciat *Almirano* his kinsman, with other two friends: he furnished two shippes, and proclaymed free passage and victuals vnto all those that would goe in his company:



he shipped for his owne account a thousand five hundred  
markes of silver, twentie thousand Castlins in good gold,  
and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He toke in his  
company *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, *Andres de Tapia*, and other of  
the chiefest of the conquerours. He brought with him a  
Sonne of *Mutezumaz*, & another Sonne of *Maxicca*, who  
was become a Christian, & named *Don Lorenso*, with many  
other Indian Gentlemen of *Mexico*, *Tlaxcallan*, and other  
citicis: eight players with a cudgell, twelue tennis players,  
with certaine men & women of that countrey, who were  
white of colour, and other dwarfes & deformed persons.  
He brought also wilde beasts, as *Tigres*, & other strange  
beastes called *Aiotochli*, and one *Tlaquaci*. Moreover he  
brought a great number of mantels made of feathers &  
Conny beare, Targets, bushes or tuffes of galant sea-  
thers, and looking glasses of stone. In fine, he came lyke a  
great Lorde, & arrived in Spayne, in the ende of the yere  
1519. the Courte being then in *Toledo*. The newes of his  
arriual was blownen thzough out all Spayne, and euery  
one desirous to see him.

### The honour vyliche the Emperour

shewed vnto *Hernando Cortes*, with rewarde.



He Emperour receyued *Cortes* magnifi-  
cally, and to giue him the greater honour,  
he went & visited him at hys owne lodg-  
ing.

The Emperour beyng in a readinesse  
to passe into Italy, to be there crowned  
with the Emperiall crowne, *Cortes* went in his maiesties  
company vnto the Citie of *Saragoza*, whereas his Ma-  
ties calling to remembrance his worthy seruice, & valour  
of his person, made him *Marques del Valle de Huazacac*, &c.

*Aaa.*

ording

corrying to his desire, on the .viij. of July, *An. 1528*, and Captayne generall of the newe Spayne, with all the provinces and coast of the south sea, chiefe discoverer and inhabiter of the same coaste and Ilandes, with the twelfth parte of all that after that tyme should be discovered, for a sure inheritance to him and his discendentes: he offered vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthode of Saint James, the whiche offer Cortes refused, because there was no rent gyven with the habite, but he besought his Maiestie to graunt vnto him the gouernmēt of Mexico, the whiche request the Emperour denied, because that no Conquerour should thinke that the office of gouernment and iustice is due vnto hym, for the like demaunde was desired of the kyng *Don Fernando*, by *Cristoual Colon* who firste discovered the India, and also the great Captaine *Gonsalo Hernandez de Cordova*, who conquered Naples. Cortes deserved muche, and also the Emperour gaue him much, to honour him as a most bountifull and gratefull King, who neuer taketh away that whiche once he giueth. He likewise gaue vnto Cortes all the kyngdome of *Michuacan*, but he had rather haue had diuers other tostones whiche he demaunded, many other great fauours and rewarde he receyued at the Emperours handes, but the principall are those before declared.

### The Mariage of Cortez.



When it was knowen in Spayne, that the lady *Catherin Xuarez*, wife vnto Cortes, was deceased in India, by intercessours he was assured vnto the Duke of Bejar, his brothers daughter, who was named the Lady *Iane de Zuniga*: by fathers name was *Don Carolus de Arrellano*, Earle of *Aguilar*. This Lady was

a bewtifull Dame, and hyz bꝛethꝛene noble personages, who were highly in fauour with the Emperour. And Cortes to matche with so honorable an house and lynage he iudged himselfe fortunat and well married.

Among many Jewelles whiche Cortes broughte with him, were five moſte riche and fine Emeraldes, whiche were valued at a hundꝛeth thouſande Duckets: the one was wrought lyke vnto a Roſe, an other like a Coꝛnet, an other lyke a fiſhe with the eyes of golde, whiche was a marvellous pꝛece of worke, beꝛng wrought among *Indians*: an other pꝛece was wrought lyke vnto a bell, with a great and a riche pearle foꝛ the clapper, garniſhed with golde, ingrauen about with letters, whiche ſayde, Blessed is he that created the. The fiſth was made lyke a cuppe with the ſote of gold, and had foure little chaynes of gold, that were loꝛned all at the top toꝛether, in a great pearle, and the bynne of this cuppe was of gold, with this verſe ingrauen rounde aboute, *Inter natos mulierum non ſurrexit maior*. Foꝛ this onely pꝛece the Merchantes of *Genewa* did offer ſourtie thouſand Ducates, foꝛ to ſel the ſame again to the great Turke. But at that tyme Cortes woulde not giue it foꝛ any money, although afterwarde he loſt them all in the warres of *Argel*, beꝛng there with the Emperour. It was told Cortes that the Emperreſſe deſired to haue thoſe pꝛeces, meaning to demaunde them of him, and that the Emperour ſhoulde pay foꝛ the ſame, foꝛ whiche cauſe he ſent them to the Lady his newe wiſe, with many other Jewelles befoꝛe he came at the Courte, and there, when he was enquired foꝛ them, he answered, and excuſed himſelfe, foꝛ then certaynely he gaue ſuche Jewels vnto his Epouſe, that the lyke neuer Lady had in Spayne. And after he was married to the Lady *Iane of Zuniga*, he departed with hyz to the newe Spayne, with title of *Marques*.

The riche  
Emeraldes.



## How the Chancery vvas first placed

in Mexico, and certayne Diuelishe pretences  
wrought against Cortes.



Before Cortes his coming into Spayne, Pamfilo de Naruaez his old enemy wēt vp & down in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riuer *De Palmas & Florida*, where at the last he died, and alwayes when he saw tyme convenient he made cōplaints against Cortes, yea and to the Emperours owne hand he deliuered a scrole of many articles, amōg the which was one, wherein he affirmed that Cortes had as many barres of gold and silver, as in *Biscay* were barres of yron, and offered to proue the same: but although it was not true, yet it was suspicious. He also earnestly procured that he shold be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, & killed with popson the Licenciat *Luis ponce de Leon*, & *Francisco Garaya*. Through his many and importunate petitions, it was determined to send to Mexico, *Don Pedro de la Cueva*, who was bothe fierce and seuerer, and Lord steward of the Emperour his house, and afterwarde made general of the ordinance, and chiefe Comendador of the order and knight-hood of *Alcantara*, who finding the accusation true, should cut off Cortes his head.

But as God would, in the meane season came the testimoniall from the Doctor *Hoieda*, and the Licenciat *Pero Lopez*, Physicians, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue bene popsoned, wherupon that commission ceased. And when Cortes came into Spayne, *Don Pedro de la Cueva* would many times laugh and tell with him, saying, From farre places long lies.

The Emperour and his counsell of *India* provided a  
Court

Courte of Chancery in *Mexico*, as chiefe place, where as all controuerfies and matters of righte throughout the new *Spayne* mighte there be determined, and also to correct the mutines, and partes taking among the *Spany*ardes: likewise to take residence and accompte of *Cortes*, and to be satysfied both of his seruice and offences. Moreover that they should visite the officers, and repall Treasorie there. *Munio de Gusman* was appoynted president and gouernoure, with other foure Licenciates for Iudges to accompany him. He departed toward *Mexico* Anno 1529, and at his comming, he began to vnderstande in his regimente and office, with the Licenciate *Iohn Ortiz*, for the other thre Iudges died by the way. *Cortes* being nowe absente, and bypon his iourney toward *Spayne*, this newe Judge made a terrible residence and condemnation againste him, and commaunded all his goodes to be solde by out-thyappe, for a greate deale lesse than his goodes were worth, and in his absente they called him by proclamation: but if he hadde bin there present, his life had bin in daunger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Judge sheweth rigoure against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against *Cortes*, but also against his friendes, for hee apprehended *Pedro de Aluaredo*, who was newly come from *Spayne*, bycause he spake in the fauour of *Cortes*, laying to his charge the rebellion of *Mexico*, when *Nauarez* was there. He also apprehended *Alonso de Efrada*, & manye others, doing manifest wrongs vnto them.

In shorte space the Emperour had more complayntes against *Nunio de Gusman*, and the other Judge, than had bin heretofore against any other, wherevpon he was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongfull dealing in iustice was not onely proued in *Mexico*, but also in the Court of *Spayne*, with many persons that were come

Before the  
Iudges  
came, *Cortes*  
was  
gone to  
*Spayne*.

A good  
sentence.

from thence, so that the next president and Judges that went thither, did pronounce *Nunio de Gusman* and his fellows for partiall Judges, and enemies unto *Cortes*, and condemned him to pay all his goodes whiche were euill sold: But whē *Nunio de Gusman* understode that he was put out of office, he then was afrayde, and toke his journey against the *Tenuchimecas*, seeking after the Towne of *Culhuacan*, from whence the *Mexicans* descended. He carried in his company five hundred Spaniards, whercof the most were horsemen, and many of them went as prisoners, and against their willes.

Abominable fact.

In *Mechuacan* he toke prisoner the King *Cacuncin*, who was a great friende unto *Cortes*, a seruitor unto the Spaniards, and vassal to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he toke from him tenne thousande markes of plate, and much golde, and afterward burned him, and many of the Gentlemen, and principal persons of that kingdome, because they shoulde not complayne, saying, that a dead dogge biteth not. He toke from thence sixe thousand *Indians* for the seruice of his army, and with them conquered *Xalisco*, whiche is now called the new *Gallizia*. He abode there, vntill the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and Chancery of *Mexico*, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into Spayne, to giue accompte of his office. If *Nunio de Gusman* had bin so good a gouernour and Judge, as he was in bloud a Gentleman, he had then enioyed the best plot of all the West India, but he behaued himselfe euill, both with the *Indians* and Spaniards.

The same yeare that he came from *Mexico*, went thither for president *Sebastian Ramirez*, who was a Bishop, and had in time past bin presidente in *Santo Domingo*, and the Licēciates *John de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiraga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*, for Judges to accompanie him.

These



These Judges gouerned well the land, and caused the Citie of *Angels* to be inhabited which the *Indians* called *Cuicilaxcoapan*, that is to say a Snake in water. The reason was, bycause they haue two fountaynes, the one of euill water, and the other of good. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from *Mexico*, in the high way to *Vera Cruz*. The Bishop set the *Indians* at libertie, and therefore many Spaniards departed from thence, who hadde inhabited there before, and wente to seek their living at *Xalisco*, *Hunduras*, *Quahusemallan*, and other places where warre was.

### The returne of Cortez to Mexico.



This season arriued Cortes at the riche Towne of *Vera Cruz*, and when his coming was published, how he came wpyth title of *Marquez*, and had broughte bys wife with him, an infinite number of *Indians* came to visite him, and almost all

the Spaniards of *Mexico*, so that in few dayes there came a thousand persons of his owne nation, who made theyr complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Judges which had bin there, had destroyed both him and them, and asked his iudgement whether that nowe they might kill both them and theirs. Cortes hearing their odious request, reprehended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to releue their necessitie with new discoveries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the president hearde howe Cortes was visited of the Spaniards, they commaunded forthwith euery one of them shoulde immediately returne to *Mexico*, or else, where their dwelling places were vpo paine of death, yea and they were aboute to apprehende Cortes for a stirrer

of vp̄pore, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into *Spainye*. But when he saw howe sone these Judges were moued, he commaunded to proclayme himselfe openly in *Vera Cruz* Captayne Generall of all the dominions of the new *Spainye*, and there caused the Emperours letters pattentes to be redde, whiche thing being knowne to the *Mexican* Judges, it caused them to wryng their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward *Mexico* wryth a great company of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, among whom there a good company of horsemen: but when he came to *Tezcuco*, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into *Mexico*, vpon payne of losse of his goodes, and hys body to be at the *Isings* pleasure.

He obeyed the commaundemente with greate wysedome, being a thing conuenient to the seruice of the Emperour, and profite of the land, which he had wonne wryth great toyle and labour: but yet he abode in *Tezcuco* with a greater maiestie and court, than the President in *Mexico*, and wrote vnto him, that he should consider his god will and whole intent, and not to giue occasion to the *Indians* to rebell, and for the *Spaniards* he might assure hym selfe.

The *Indians* vnderstanding y<sup>e</sup> discorde betwixt the President and *Cortes*, slew as many *Spaniards* as they coulde get at aduantage, so that in fewe dayes there wanted as bene two hundred of the *Spanish* nation, being slayne as well in *Tolones*, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselves to rebell in dede. But when the Bishop and the Judges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better remedy, nor other sure defence, but only y<sup>e</sup> name baloz, person, and authoritie of *Cortes*, they sente to desire him to come vnto *Mexico*, wherevpon he obserued they commaundement and request, & wente toward the Citie,

well

well accompanied with men of warre, so that he heliued himselfe in estate a generall captaine. All the Citizens came out to receiue him and the lady Marques his wife: his entrie into the cittie was a day of great pleasure among them. Then the president and iudges entred into counsell for to remedie the greate hurt whiche had bene done by the *Indians*, Cortes toke the matter in hand, and apprehended many *Indians*, of whom some he burned, others twer tozue with dagges, he did such correction, that in shorthe time al the countrey was quiet, and the highe ways without daunger, a thing worthy of great thanks.

The letters that the *Indians* vsed in

*Mexican.*



Here hath not bin found letters at any time in the Weast India, onely in the helue Spain were vsed certain figures which serued for letters, with the which they kepte in memorie, and preserved their antiquities. The figures of the *Mexicans* vsed for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupy gret volumes: they ingraue them in stone or timber, and paint them vpon walles, and also vpon a paper made of cotten wool, and leaues of the tree *Mech*. Their bookes are great and folden vp like vnto our broade clothes, and writtten vpon both sides. There are some bookes rolled vp like a piece of stannel. They pronouce not, b.g. e.f. Therfore they vse much. p.e. l.r. This is the *Merical* speech, and *Nahual*, which is the best, playnest, and most eloquent, in al helue Spayne. There are some in *Mexico* that do vnderstand ech other, by whistling, whiche is ordinarily vsed among louers, & thaeues, a speech truely to wonder at, & none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.



*The order hovy to reckon.*

<i>Ce</i>	<i>One</i>
<i>Ome</i>	<i>Two</i>
<i>Ei</i>	<i>Thre</i>
<i>Nani</i>	<i>Foure</i>
<i>Macuil</i>	<i>Five</i>
<i>Chicoace</i>	<i>Sixe</i>
<i>Chicome</i>	<i>Seauen</i>
<i>Chicuei</i>	<i>Eight</i>
<i>Chiconani</i>	<i>Nine</i>
<i>Matlac</i>	<i>Tenne</i>
<i>Matlacihue</i>	<i>Eleuen</i>
<i>Matlacihome</i>	<i>Twelue</i>
<i>Matlacihomes</i>	<i>Thirtene</i>
<i>Matlacihinani</i>	<i>Fourtene</i>
<i>Matlacihinacui</i>	<i>Fiftene</i>
<i>Matlacihichicoace</i>	<i>Sixtene</i>
<i>Matlacihichicome</i>	<i>Seuentene</i>
<i>Matlacihichicuei</i>	<i>Eightene</i>
<i>Matlacihichiconani</i>	<i>Ninetene</i>
<i>Cempoalli</i>	<i>Twentie</i>

Euery number is simple, vntil you come to sixe, and then they count, sixe and one, sixe and two, sixe and thre. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must counte ten and one, tenne and two, tenne and thre, tenne and foure, tenne and fve.

When you count, ten fve and one, tenne fve and two, ten fve and thre. Twentie goeth by himselfe, and al the greater numbers.

*The*

The Mexican yeare.

The Mexicans yeare is thre hundred fiftie dayes, for they haue in their yere eightene monethes, and euery moneth contayneth twentie dayes. They haue o ther fine odde dayes, whiche goeth by themselves, in the which they vsed to celebrate greate feastes of cruell and bloudy sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reconing af ter this sort, they could not chose but erre, for they could not make equal the punctuall course of the Sunne. Pea the Christian yere is not perfit, although we haue lear ned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians wente neare the marke.

The names of the moneths.

*Tlacaxipenzizli.*

*Toxenzli.*

*Huei Toxenzli.*

*Toxcatl.*

*Ecatlcoatzli.*

*Tocuilhuicintli.*

*Hueitocuilhuicintli.*

*Miccailhucintli.*

*Peymiccailhucintli.*

*Pachpanizli.*

*Pacheli.*

*Huei Pacheli.*

*Quecholli.*

*Panquecalizli.*

*Hacmucizli.*

*Tititli.*

*Izcaltli.*

*Coauihtli.*

# The Conquest of The names of dayes.

<i>Cipactli</i>	A Spade
<i>Heccatl</i>	Ape or WInde
<i>Calls</i>	A House
<i>Cuez Pali</i>	A Lizard
<i>Conale</i>	A Snake
<i>Mixquintl</i>	Death
<i>Macatl</i>	A wilde Hart
<i>Tochtli</i>	A Conny
<i>Acl</i>	Water
<i>Izcuyntli</i>	A Dogge
<i>Ocumacli</i>	An Ape
<i>Malinalli</i>	A Brome
<i>Acath</i>	A Cane
<i>Ocelotl</i>	A Tigre
<i>Coaucli</i>	An Eggle
<i>Cozacahuatl</i>	A Bussard
<i>Olin</i>	A Temple
<i>Tepatl</i>	A Knife
<i>Quauhtl</i>	Rayne
<i>Xuchitl</i>	A Rose

Although these twentie names serue for the whole yere, and are but the dayes of euery moneth, yet therfore euery moneth beginneth not with *Cipactli*, which is the first name, but as they followe in order, and the fift odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also bycause theyr weeke is of thirtene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example, *Cecipactli* can go no further thā vnto *Matlacameiacatl*, which is thirtene, and then beginneth another weeke: and we do not say *Matlacahuatl* *Ocelotl*, whiche is the fourteenth day, but we say *Cecelotl* whiche is one, and then reker the other six names, vnto twenty.

And



And when al the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe  
to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not frō  
one, but from viij. And bicause ye may better vnderstand  
the matter, here is the example.

*Cecipactli.*

*Omehecatli.*

*Xi Calli.*

*Nani Cuezpali.*

*Macuilcoatl.*

*Chicoacē Atizquinh.*

*Chicome Macatl.*

*Chicuei Tochtli.*

*Chiconauatl.*

*Matlaciz Cuinli.*

*Matlacihue Ocumatl.*

*Matlacihue Malinalli.*

*Matlacihuei Macatl.*

The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from  
one. And that one is the fouretēth name of the moneth  
and of the dayes, and saith.

*Ceotelotl.*

*Omeacatl.*

*Eicozacuahuatl.*

*Nani Otl.*

*Macuil Tecpatl.*

*Chicoacē Quiauitl.*

*Chicome Xuchitl.*

*Chicuei Cipactli.*

In this second weeke, *Cipactli* came to fall on the eighth  
day, being in the first weeke the first day.

*Cemacatl.*

*Ometochtli.*

*Ziactli.*

*Matlaciz Cuinli.*

*Matlacihue Ocumatl.*

*Xbb. lll.*

*And*

And so proceede on to the thirde wäke, in the which this name *Cipaelli* entreteth not, but *Macatl*, which was the seventh day in the first wäke, & had no place in þe second, and is the first in the third. This reconing is no darker, than ours, which we haue in a. b. c. d. e. f. g. For they also change with time, and runne in such sort, that. a. whiche was the firste letter of this moneth, commeth to be the fift daye of the nexte moneth, and the thirde moneth be counteth to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other fise letters.

### The accounting of yeares.

These *Mexicans* had another order to reckon theyr yeares, which exceeded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, thre, foure, wherewith they accounte a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they lust. Those foure figures or names are, *Tochtli*, *Acatlh*, *Tecpatlh*, *Calli*, and do signifye, a Conny, a Caue, a Knife, and a House, saying.

<i>Ce Tochtli</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Acatlh</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Tecpatlh</i>	Thre yeares
<i>Nani Calli</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Tochtli</i>	Five yeares
<i>Cicoacen Acatlh</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Cicome Tecpatlh</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicwei Calh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconau Tochtli</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlatli Acatlh</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlatliace Tecpatlh</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlatliome Calli</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Matlatliomei Tochtli</i>	Thirtene yeares

So that the reconing passeth not aboue thirtene,  
whiche is one weeke of the yeare, and endeth where he  
began.

**Another Weeke.**

<i>Ce Acatlh</i>	<i>One yeare</i>
<i>Ome Tlepatlh</i>	<i>Two yeares</i>
<i>Ei Calli</i>	<i>Thre yeares</i>
<i>Nawi Tocheli</i>	<i>Foure yeares</i>
<i>Macuil Acatlh</i>	<i>Five yeares</i>
<i>Chicoacem Tecpatlh</i>	<i>Sixe yeares</i>
<i>Chicome Calli</i>	<i>Seuen yeares</i>
<i>Chicuei Tocheli</i>	<i>Eight yeares</i>
<i>Chiconawi Acatlh</i>	<i>Nine yeares</i>
<i>Matlatli Tecpatlh</i>	<i>Tenne yeares</i>
<i>Matlatliocce Calli</i>	<i>Eleuen yeares</i>
<i>Matlatliome Tocheli</i>	<i>Twelue yeares</i>
<i>Matlatliomei Acatlh</i>	<i>Thirtene yeares</i>

**The third vyecke of yeares.**

<i>Ce Tecpatlh</i>	<i>One yeare</i>
<i>Ome Calli</i>	<i>Two yeres</i>
<i>Ei Tocheli</i>	<i>Thre yeres</i>
<i>Nawi Acatlh</i>	<i>Foure yeres</i>
<i>Macuil Tecpatlh</i>	<i>Five yeres</i>
<i>Chicoacan Calli</i>	<i>Sixe yeares</i>
<i>Chicome Tocheli</i>	<i>Seauen yeares</i>
<i>Chicuei Acatlh</i>	<i>Eight yeares</i>
<i>Chiconawi Tecpatlh</i>	<i>Nine yeares</i>
<i>Matlatli Calli</i>	<i>Tenne yeares</i>
<i>Matlatliome Tocheli</i>	<i>Eleuen yeares</i>
	<i>Twelue</i>



Matlahtliome Acatlh Twelve yeares  
Matlahtliomei Tecpatlh Thirtene yeares

## The fourth Week.

Ce Calli	One yeare
Ome Tochli	Two yeares
Ei Acatlh	Thre yeares
Nani Tecpatlh	Four yeares
Macuil Calli	Five yeares
Chicacac Tochli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Acatlh	Seauen yeares
Chicuei Tecpatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconau Calli	Nine yeares
Matlahtli Tochli	Tenne yeares
Matlahtlioc Acatlh	Eleuen yeares
Matlahtliome Tecpatlh	Twelue yeares
Matlahtliomei Calli	Thirtene yeares

Each of these weekes, which our men call Indition, doth conteyne thirtene yeares, so that all the four weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfit number in the reconding, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yerres, to fiftie two yeares, they vfed to make soleinne feastes, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they beginne againe, by the same order before declared, vntil they come to as many moe, beginning at Ce Tochli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Compy figure. So that in the forme of reconding they kepe & haue in memozye, things of 800. yeares, and by this Cronicle they knowe in what yere euerye thing hapned, and how long euery king raygned: howe many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the gouernement of the lande.

The Indians beleueed that fīue ages

were past, which they called *Sunnes*.



The Indians of *Culhua* did beleue that the Gods had made y<sup>e</sup> world, but they knew not how, yet they beleued that since the creation of the world four Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is y<sup>e</sup> Sunne that now giueth light to the world.

They helde opinion that the firste Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished likewise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heaues, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slayne, and then (said they) were manye *Giantes* in that Countrey, and certayne monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whereof, some shoulde seme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, whiche burned day and night, so that then all liuing creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayre or winde, which blew downe houses, trees, yea and y<sup>e</sup> mountaynes and Rockes were blowe asunder, but the lignage of mankinde perished not, sauing that they were conuerted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the worlde fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of fīue and twenty yeares continually, and at the fiftenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and a woman, who brought forth childzen, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly bozne vppon the figure of the *Cornny* day, and

*Ecce.*

*there.*

therfoze they begiu their account of yeeres at y<sup>e</sup> day, & reckoning from the yeare of oure Lorde 1552. their age of Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue vsed many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this vse from *Cetochels*, whiche is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day of their fifth Sunne, but also they hadde the same order and vse in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slippe out of memozie, saying, that with the newe Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this last Sunne appeared, all the Gods did dye, and that in proceste of time the Gods whiche nowe they haue, and worshippinge, were bozne. And through these false opinions, our Diuines did some conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

### The nation of the Indians called

*Chichimecas.*



In the lande nowe called newe spayne, are diuers and sundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the stocke of most antiquitie, is the people nowe called *Chichimecas*, whiche proceeded out of the house of *Aculhuacan*, which standeth beyond *Xalisco*, about the yeare of our Lorde. 720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of *Tenucheitlan*, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they hadde no King, nor yet did builde eyther house or Towne. Their only dwellings was in caues in y<sup>e</sup> Mountaynes. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, nor vsed bread of any sorte. They did mainteyne themselves with rootes, hearbes, and siluester fruites: and being a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they held



led deare, hares, connyes, and other beastes and soule, which they ate also, not sodden or roasted, but rawe, and dyed in the Sunne. They ate also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthye beastes, yea and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same dyet. But although they liued sushe a bestiall life, & being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuelish religion they were verye deuout. They worshipped the Sunne, vnto whome they vsed to offer Snakes, Lizards, & such other beastes. They likewise offered vnto their God all kinde of soule, from the degre of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vsed not sacrifice of manslaughter, nor had any Idolles, no not so muche as of the Sunne, whome they helde for the sole and only God. They married but with one woman, & in no degre of kindred. They were a scoute and a warlike people, by reason whereof, they were Lordes of the land.

### The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.



Although one brother was heire to an other among the *Mexicans*, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest brother, yet they toke no possession of the state nor name of King vntil they were annoynted and Crowned openlye.

As soone as any King of *Mexico* deceased, and his funerals ended, then were called to Parliamente the Lordes of *Texcoco*, and the Lordes of *Tlacopan*, who were the chieffest estates, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the *Mexican* Empire. And being come together, if any doubt of the inheritace of y<sup>e</sup> crowne happened, then the matter was decided with al hast: then the newe King being knowen, he was stripped skarke naked, except a cloth to couer his priuie partes, and in this sorte was carried among them, to the greate Temple

of *Xitzilopuchli* with greate silence, and without any toy  
 or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office  
 it was, ledde him vpp the staires of the Temple by the  
 armes, and befoze him wente the Princes of *Tezcuco* and  
*Tlacopan*, who that day did weare their robes of Corona-  
 tion, wherevpon was paynted their armes and title. The  
 reye felwe of the Laytie wente vp into the Chappels, but  
 only those that were appoynted to attire the newe king,  
 and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the residue  
 stode vpon the steppes and belowe, to beholde the Corona-  
 tion. These Magistrates being aboute in the Chap-  
 pell, came with great humilitie and reuerence, knaelyng  
 downe vpo their knes befoze the Idoll of *Xitzilopuchli*,  
 and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the  
 same. Then came the high prieste clothed in his pontiffe  
 call vestmentes, with many others in his company, who  
 did weare surplices: and withoute speaking any worde,  
 they paynted or couloured the Kings person, with ynke  
 made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After this  
 Ceremonie done, they blessed the annoynted King, and  
 sprinckled him foure times with a certayne holly water,  
 that was made at the time of consecration of the God,  
 made of dowe or paste, with a sprinckle made of boughes  
 of Cane leaues, Cedar, & willow leaues. Then they put  
 vpon his head, a cloth painted with the bones and skulles  
 of dead men, and next they clothed him with a black gar-  
 ment, and vpon y another blew, and both were paynted  
 with y figures of dead mens skulles & bones. When they  
 put about his necke certaine laces, whereat did hang the  
 armes of y Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang  
 certain little bottels ful of powders, by vertue wherof he  
 was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to  
 their opinit: yea & therby witches, nor witchcrafts could  
 not hurt him, nor yet euill menne deceyue him. In syne,  
 with

The oymt-  
ment.

With those reliques he was sure from all perill and daunger. Upon his lefte arme they bounde a litle bagge of incense, and then bzought vnto him a chaffing dishe of imbers made of the barke of an Oke trée. Then the king arose, and with his owne hande threwe of the same incense into the chaffing dishe, and with great reuerence bzought the same to the God *Virzilopucheli*, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his othe to mainteyne the religion of the Goddess, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maynteyne iustice, and not to agrauiate any of his vassals or subiects, and that he shoulde be valiant in the warres, that he shoulde cause the Sunne to giue his light, the clowdes to yelde rayne, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of grayne, fruytes, and other needefull hearbes and trées. These and many other impossible things the newe kyng did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thanks to the high priest, and commended himself to the Goddess and to the lookers on, and they who bzought him vp in the same order, carrieth him downe agayne. Then all the people cried, the Goddess preserve the newe kyng, and that he may raigne many yeres in health with al his people. But then some began to daunce, other to play on their instrumēt, shewing outwardly their inwarde ioyes of harte. And before the king came to the foote of the steppes, all the noble men came to yelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faythfull subiectes they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snayle shelles, collours, and other Jewelles of golde and silver, also mantels paynted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hal within the compasse of the temple, and there leste him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called *Tlacatecco*, and in foure daies departeth not out of the circuite of the temple, the which



he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penance, he eates then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and agayne in the night in a great ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth therewith the God of Water, called *Tlaloc*: he likewise senseth the other idols, vnto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Wapers and little Canes died in the bloude of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Poble men to beare him company to his palayce with great triumphe and pleasure of all the Cittie, but after his consecration fewe or none dare loke him in the face.

And now with the declaryng of the actes and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other kyngs, for generally they all do vse the same order, sayng that other Princes goe not vp to the toppe of the Temple, but abide at the fote of the Steppes to be crowned, and after theyr Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at theyr returne to their countrey, they made many drunkē feasts and banquets.

### The opinion of the Mexicans

concerning the Soule.



The Mexicans did beleue that the Soule was immortal, and that they receyued either ioy or payne according to theyr desertes & liuyng in this worlde, vnto which opinion all their religion did attayne, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They helde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefe place of glory to be neare vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those whiche were

god

god men slaine in the warres, & those which were sacrific-  
sed were placed, and that all other sortes of euill persons  
their soules aboue on the earth, & were deuised after this  
sorte, childezen that were dead bozne went to one place,  
those which died of age or other disease went to another,  
those which died of sodden death to another, those which  
died of woundes or contagious diseases went to an other  
place, those which were drowned went to another, those  
which were put to death for offence by order of iustice, as  
for robbery and adulterp to another: Those which slewe  
their fathers, mothers, wiues or childre, to another place  
by themselves, also those who slew their maysters or any  
religious person went to another place. The common  
sorte of people were buried, but Lordes and rich men had  
their bodies burned & their ashes buried. In their shreudes  
they had a greate difference, for many dead bodies were  
buried better apparelled than when they were on liue.  
Women were shreuded after another sorte. And he that  
suffered death for adulterie was shreuded like vnto the  
God of leachery, called *Tlazoultentli*, he that was drowned  
like vnto the God of water named *Tlacoe*, and he that died  
with drunkennesse was shreuded like vnto the God of  
wyne called *Omerochli*. But the Souldier had an honora-  
ble shreude like vnto the attyre of *Pitzilopuchli*, and the  
like order in all other sortes of deathes.

The buriall of Kings in

Mexico.



When any King of Mexico happened to  
fall sick, they bled forth with to put a  
vise, eppen the fate of *Tezcaltipuca*, or  
*Pitzilopuchli*, or some other Idoll,  
whiche vise was not taken awaye,  
untill

untill they sawe whether the kyng did amend, or else die: But if he chaunced to die, then woꝛde was sent throught out all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the Poble menne that were his highest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead body was layde vpon a sayre matre, & was watched foure nightes, with great lamentation and mourning: then the body was washed, and a locke of heare cut from the crowne of his head, whiche was pꝛeserued as a great relicke, saying that therein remainned the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put into his mouth, and his body shꝛewded in seuentene riche mantles, of colours, both riche and costly wrought. Vpon the vpper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of *Kitzilapuchili* or *Tezcalipuca*, or of some other idoll, in whome the kyng had greate confidence in his lyfe tyme, and in his temple should the body be buried. Vpō his face they put a visor, paynted with foule and Diuellysh gestures, besette with many iewelless, pꝛecious stones, and pearles. Then they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes and make fire vnto the Goddes of his pallasce. These things done, they carried the dead body vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others song the death of the kyng by note, so so was the custome.

The Poble men and Gentlemen of his housholde carried Targets, Arrowes, Pales, and Ensignes to thꝛowe into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receyued him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after he had sayde certayne wordes, the body was thꝛowen into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the iewels that he had aboute him, and all the other things whiche was brought



brought to honour the buriall: also a dogge newly strangled with an arrowe, whiche was to guyde him his way. In the meane while that the King and dogge were burning, the Priestes sacrificed two hidged persons, howbeit in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary fare, for sometymes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened with a rasour of flinte in the breastes, and theyr hartes taken out and throwen into the fire where the Kings body was. These miserable persons beyng sacrificed, and their bodies throwen into a hole, they beleued assuredly that those shoulde serue for his slaues in another worlde: some of them were dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead body of the King befoze his buriall, Roses, floures and sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durste touche the same, but onely the Priestes, for it seemed to be an offering.

The nexte day followyng, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the whiche things were put into a chest, paynted on the inside with horrible figures of diuels, and the locke of heare whiche was cut from his crowne, and another locke of heare which was preserved from the tyme of his birth. Then the chest was lockte, and an image of wood made and clothed like vnto the Kings person, which was set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the whiche the wiues and daughters of the king offered great offerings at the place where his body was buried, and befoze the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaues were sacrificed for his soule; and on the twentieth day other fye persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the sixtie three, and fourescore, whiche was lyke vnto the yeres minde.

¶

The

The order of buriall of the Kings  
of Michuacan.

The kingdome of *Michuacan* is almoste as great as the Empire of *Mexico*, and when any king of that countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to suche extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Physicians, then would he name and appoint whiche of his Sonnes shoulde inherite the estate, and being knowne, the new king or heire, incontinent sent for all the gouernours, Captaines, and valiant souldiers, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde king was certayne, then came all beiges of Estates and brought presents to the newe king, for the approbation of his kyngdome, but if the king were not thoroughly dead, but at the poynt of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when hys lyfe was departed, then beganne a generall crie and mournyng, and they were permitted to come where their dead kyng lay, and to touche him with their handes: this being done the carcasse was washed with swete waters, and then a fine shyrte put vpon him, and a payre of shooes made of a Deere skinnie put on his fete, and aboute his ancles were tied certayne belles of golde, about his wyestes of his handes were put *Manyllias* of *Turkies*, and other bracelets of golde, lykewise aboute his necke they hong other collers of pperious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with a greate *Turkise* in his neather lippe. When his body was layde vpon a large beare, whereon was placed a good bedde vnder him: on his one side lay a bowe with a quiver of arrowes, and on his

his other side lay an image made of fine mantels of his owne stature or bignesse with a greate tuffe of fine feathers, shoes vpon his fete, with bracelets and a collar of gold. While this worke was a doying, others were busied in washing the men and women whiche shoulde be slayne for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that shoulde be slayne were banqueted & filled with drinke, because they shoulde receyue their death with lesse paine. The newe kyng did appoint those who shoulde die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thyng of immortal glozy. First seuen Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appoynted to die, the one to haue the office of keper of his iewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of cup bearer, another to giue him water with a basen and ewer, another to giue him alwayes the bynall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for landyes. They slewe also many women slaues, and free maydens for to attende vpon the Gentlewomen, and mozeouer one of euery occupation within the citie. When all these that were appoynted to die were washed & they bellicies full with meate & drinke, then they paynted their faces yellow, and put garlandes of swete floures vpon each of their heads. Then they went in order of processio befoze the beare whereon the dead king was caried, some wente playing on instruments made of shayle shelles, others played vpon bones and shelles of seaturtills, others went whistlyng and the most part weeping: the Sonnes of the dead kyng & other noble men carried vpo their shoulders the beare where y cozle lay, & proceeded with an easie pace towarde the Temple of the God *Curicameri*: his kinsmen went round about the bere, singyng a sorrowful song. The officers and houthold seruants of the Court w other



Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standartes and diuers other armies.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesayde out of the Kings palayce with great light of fire bzandes and with a heauy noyse of trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the corse passed, attended to make cleane the streete. And when they were come to the temple, they wente foure tymes rounde about a great fire made of the wodde of Pine trée, whiche was prepared to burne y dead body: then the beare was layd vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burning, they matoled with a clubbe those whiche had the garlandes, and afterwarde buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behind the Temple.

The next day in the moorning, the ashes, bones and Jewels was gathered and layde vpon a riche mantle, the whiche was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended to blesse those Diuelishe reliques, whereof they made a dowe or passe, and thereof an image whiche was appareled lyke a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sortes of Jewels that the dead King was wonte to weare, so that it seemed a gallant idoll. At the soke of the temple sayzes, they opened a grane ready made, whiche was square, large, & two fadome deepe, it was also haged with new mattes rounde about, and a sayze bed therein, in the whiche a religious man placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes toward the east parte, and longe rounde aboute the walles Targets of golde and siluer, with bow and arrowes, & many gallant tusses of feathers with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes & platters, so that the grane was filled vp with household stuffe, chests covered with leather, apparell, iewels, meate, drinke, and armour. This done, the grane was shut vp & made sure with beames, bozdes, and flozcd with earth on the toppe.

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed them selues, and wente to dinner in the Courte or yard of the Kings house. without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certayne lockes of Cotton wopl, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured fve dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet a ny cozne was ground, or market kept, nor none durst goe out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of theyr King.

### The order of Matrimony among

the Indians.



In *Tlaxcallan* and many other Cities, was vsed as a principall Ceremonie and token of marriage, that the Bridgrome and his Bride, against the day of marriage, had their heads polled, whiche was to signifie, that from that day forward, all childlike orders should be laide aside, and from that tyme new heare myght grow, to declare another kind of lyfe. The chiefest knotte of marriage vsed in *Mexico* was, that the Bride doe looke directly vpon hir spouse, for otherwise the Matrimony was not perseute nor auaylable.

In *Mixtecoapan* which is a greate prouince, they vse to carrie the Bridgrome to be married vpon their backs, which is to be vnderstood, that he goeth against his wil, but yet they take hands, in token that the one shall helpe the other, and then they knytte both their mantels together with a great knotte, signifying that they ought continually, while life lasteth, to dwell together.

The Indians called *Macatecas*, consume not their Matrimony in twenty dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their boyes, and annoynting the mouthes of the Idolles wyth their owne proper blood.

In *Panuco* the husbandes buy their wiues for a bowe, two arrowes, and a nette, and afterwarde the father in lawe speaketh not one worde to his soune in law for the space of a whole yeare. And when the husbände hapneth to haue any child, he lyeth not any moze with his wife in two yeares after, for feare least she might be with childe againe befoze the former childe were out of daunger, although some doe sucke vntyll twelue yeares of age, and for this consideration they haue many wiues. Likewise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch or dyesse any thing being with theyr menstruall ordinarie.

Diuorcement was not permitted without a iust cause and a uithozitie of Justice, among those who were openly married, but the other sort might be as easily forsaken as taken.

In *Atchuacan* was not permitted any diuorcement, excepte the partie made a soleinne othe, that they looked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. But in *Mexico* they must proue how the wife is barraine, soule, & of a naughty condition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commaundement of the Iudge, then the heare of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame or punishment of a man without reason or witte.

The payne of adultery was death, as well for the man as the woman: but if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers after that he was hanged, and his body burned, and for this offence was no pardon,



pardon, eyther for man or woman, but for the auoyding of adultery they do permitte other common women, but no ordinary ſtewes,

### Of the Iudges and order of Juſtice.

**I**n *Mexico* were twelue Judges, who were all noble men, graue, and well learned in the *Perican* lawes. Theſe men liued only by the rentes that properly apperteyne to the maintenance of Juſtice, and in anye cauſe iudged by the, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Judges, who were of the princes blood, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were mainteyned at the Kings owne coſt and charge. The inferior Judges came ordinarily once every moneth to conſult with the higher. And in every foureſcore dayes came the Judges of every prouince within the *Perican* Empire, to conſult with the Judges of *Mexico*, but all doubtfull cauſes were reſerued to the King, onely to paſſe by his order and determination. The Painters ſerued for notaries, to paint al the caſes which were to be reſolued, but no ſute paſſed aboue foureſcore dayes without finall ende and determination. There were in that citie twelue Sergeants, whole office was to arreſt, and to call parties beſore the Judges. Their garments were painted mantels, wherby they were knowen a farre off. The priſons were vnder ground, moſt and darke, the cauſe whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If anye witneſſe were called to take an oth, the order was, that he ſhoulde touche the grounds with one of his fingers, and then ſa touch his tong with the ſame, whiche ſignified that he had ſwozne and promiſed to ſpeake the troth wryth hys tog, taking witneſſe therof, of *h* earth which did mainteine him. But ſome do interpret the oth, *h* if the partie ſwars

not true, that then he mighte come to such extremitie, as to eat heartie. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

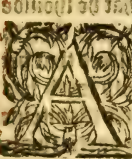
The Judge that taketh bribes or giftes, is forthwith put out of his office, whiche was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproch. The Indians did affirme, that *Necualpincinli* did hang a Judge in *Tezcuco*, for giuing an vniust sentence, he himselfe knowing the contrary. The murder is executed without exception.

The woman with child that wilfully casteth hir creature, suffereth death for the same, because many women did voluntary vse that fact, knowing their children could not inherite. The punishment of adultery was death.

The Whore for the first offence was made a slave, and hanged for the second. The traytor to the King and common weale, was put to death with extreme tormets.

The woman taken in mans apparel dyed for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Euerie one that challenged another to fight except in the warres, was condemned to die. In *Tezcuco* the sinne of *Zodomy* was punished with death, & that law was instituted by *Necualpincinli*, & *Necualcois*, who were Judges, which at heretofore filthy sinne, & therefore they deserued great praise, for in other prouinces this abominable sin was not punished, although they haue in those places common stews, as in *Panuco*.

The order of cruell Sacrifice  
used among the Indians.



At the ende of euery twenty dayes, is celebrated a festiual feast called *Nonalli*, which falleth continually the last daye of euery moneth, but the chiefeest feast in the yeare, when most men are sacrificed & eaten, is at the

the ende of euerye fiftye two yeares . But the *Tlax-*  
*caltecas* and other common weales, do celebrate this feast  
euery fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called *Tlacaxipe-*  
*naliztli*, on the which day were slaine a hundzed slaues,  
which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice,  
their flesh was eaten in this order. Al the Citizens, ga-  
thered themselues together in the high Temple, and the  
the Ministers or Priestes came and bled certaine cere-  
monies, the which being ended, they toke those whych  
were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and layd them vpon  
their backs vpon a large stone, and then the slaue be-  
ing on liue, they opened him in the bzeast, with a knife  
made of flinte stone, and toke out his hart, whiche they  
threw immediately at the foote of the Altar, as an offe-  
ring, and anoynted with the fresh bloude, the face of the  
God *Virgilopuchtli*, or any other Idol. This done, they  
pluckt of the skinnes of a certaine number of them, the  
which skinnes so many auntient persons put incontinet  
vpon their naked bodies, al fresh & bloudy, as they wer  
slaine from the deade carcasses. And being open in the  
backe part and shoulders, they vsed to lace them, in such  
sorte that they came fitte vpon the bodies of those that  
ware them, and being in this order attired, they came  
to daunce among many others. In *Mexico* the king him  
selfe did put on one of these skinnes, being of a pinct-  
pall captiue, and daunced among the other disguised  
persons, to exalte and honoz the feast, and an infinite  
number followed him to behold his terrible gesture, al-  
though some hold opinion that they followed him to co-  
template his greate deuotion. After the sacrifice en-  
ded, the owner of the slaues did carry their bodies home  
to their houses, to make of their fleshe a solemne feaste  
to all their friends, leauing their heades and hartes to

See.

the



the Priests, as their dutie and offering. And the skinned were filled with cotten wool, or strawe, to be hong in the temple, and kings pallayce, for a memorie.

The slaues when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuise of the Idol vnto whom each of them did commende himselfe: and mozeouer they decked them with feathers, garlands and floures. Many of these sort of people, do go to the slaughter with ioyfull countenannce, dauncing, demanding almes through the Citie for their sacrifice, all the whiche almes is due vnto the priestes. When the greene cozne was a sote a-boue the ground, they vsed to go vnto a certain hil whiche was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two childzen, a boy, and a girle of thre yeares of age, to the honoz of *Tlaloc* god of water, beseeching him the refoze deuoutlye, to haue alwayes a care to prouide them water: these childzen were free borne, and therfoze they hartes were not taken out of their bodies, but after that their thzotes were cut, their bodies were wrapped in a new mantel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feast of *Toxoztli* was, when the fields of Maiz were grown two fote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the towne, wherewith were bought foure little slaues betwixt the age of five and seuen, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god *Tlaloc*, for continuall houres of rayne. And those dead bodies were shut vp in a caue appointed for the same purpose. The beginning of this sacrifice of foure childzen was, at the time when in foure yerres space it rayned not, in the whiche season p springs were dyed vp, and al greene thbings perished: wherfoze they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabit at *Nicaragua*. In the moneth and feast of *Bueistoztli*, when the cozne fields of Maiz were ripe, then  
 uery

uery one in generall gathered his handfull of Maiz, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine drinke called *Atuli*, whiche is made of the same Maiz. They brought also the swete gum *Copalli* to senſe the gods which do cause the corne to growe: and all that night they ceaſed not dauncing without drunkenneſſe. At the beginning of ſummer they celebꝛate an other feaſt called *Tlaxuchimcaco*, with all kinde of Roſes and ſwete floures that might be gotten, and thereof they uſed to make garlands to ſet vpon the Idols heades, and ſo ſpente all that day in dauncing. And to celebꝛate the feaſt called *Tecuilhuiztli*, al the gentlemen, and pꝛincipall perſons of ech pꝛouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feaſt, and then they apparell a woman with the attire of the Gods of ſalt, who daunced among a great company of hir neighboures. But on the nexte day ſhe was ſacrificed with all the Ceremonies and ſolempnitie accuſtomed, and al that day was ſpent in great deuotion, burning of incenſe in the fire pannes of the temple.

The merchants who had a temple by themſelues dedicated to the god of gaires, made their feaſt vppon the day called *Micailhuiztli*, wherein they ſelue many ſlaues in ſacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feaſt with mans fleſh, dauncing al the day. The feaſt of *Echpaniztli* they ſacrificed a woman, and afterward byr bodie was ſlayne, and hir ſkinne put vppon an Indians backe, who daunced two days a row with al the townsmen, which were apparellled in their beſt attire to celebꝛate y<sup>e</sup> feaſte. The day of *Hatamuztli* y<sup>e</sup> feaſt is kept in Mexico, where they enter into y<sup>e</sup> lake w<sup>th</sup> a great nūber of Canoes, & there they dꝛown a boy & a girl in a litle boat, which they cauſe to be ſonke, in ſuch ſozte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: and they hold opinion y<sup>e</sup>

Cee. 15.

thoſe

those children were in company with the Goddesses of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and annoynting the Idols cheekes, with gum called *vili*. There were some Images that had their faces two ynches thicke with that gum.

### The order of certaine religious

women.



**O**n the backe side of euerye greate Temple, in euerye Cittie was made a greate Hall or lodgyng, standing alone, where as manye women did eate, drinke, lodge, & leade their liues. And although suche houses had no orders, they aboad there sure ynough. These women which lay in the houses of the Goddesses, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there al their life time, although among them wer some olde women. Some entered into those religious houses being sicke and diseased, hoping there to recouer their health: others came thither through pure nede, and necessitie, to be there releued: other some came thither to be good and vertuous: and some entered into the religion, hoping that the Goddesses woulde giue vnto them riches, and long life. But generallye their comming thither was, to haue good hulbandes, and manye children: eche of them bowed the time that they woulde or ment to abide in that order, and after that time expired they married.

The first thing that they did comming into the religion, was to polle their heads, to be knowne fro others.

Their



Their offices were to spinne cotton wool and feathers, and to weaue cloth, for to apparel the Goddesses and themselves, to sweepe the parde and lodgings of the temple (so the Stayres and high chappels, the ministers themselves did make cleane) they vsed also to let them blood in certaine partes of the body, to offer to the Diuellish Fools. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the priestes, but it was not lawfull for them to presume to go vpp the stayres of the temple, nor yet to sing. They liued on almes, for their kinsfolke being rich, did maintaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddesses: their foode was boyled flesh, and hote bread, to the intent that they should offer therof to the Goddess, that they might tast of the smoke of that victual: they vsed to eate in communitie, and lay altogither, in one dormitorye, as a flocke of sheepe: they lay alwayes in theyr clothes, for honestie sake, and also to be the sower ready in the morning to serue the Gods, & to go to their worke. And yet I know not why they shold put off their clothes, for they went almost naked. On the holy dayes they vsed to daunce before the Gods, and she that either talked or laughed with any religious or secular person, was reprehended for the same. And if any of them committed whoredome, then both the man & the woman were slain, yea they believed that all suche offenders flesh would rotte and consume away, and especially those which had lost their Virginitie in the time of their religion. So that with feare of punishmente and infamie, they were good women al the while that they aboade there.

*The Conquest of*  
 Howv the Diuell appeared to  
*the Indians.*



He Diuell did many times talke wyth the priestes, and with other rulers and perticular persons, but notwithstanding all sort of men. And vnto him to whom the Diuel had appeared, was offered & presented great giftes. The wicked spirit appeared vnto the in a thousand shapen, and fashions, & finally he was conuersant and familiar among them very often. And the soles thought it a greates wonder, that Gods would be so familiar with mortal men. Yea they not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing of them many things before they had hapned, gaue great credite and beliefe to their illusions and deceites. And because he commaunded them, they sacrificed suche an infinite number of creatures. Like wise he, vnto whom he had appeared, carried about him painted, the likenesse wherein he shewed himself the first time. And they painted his image vpon their dozes, benches, and euery corner of the house. And as he appeared in sundry figures & shapen, euen so they painted him, of infinite fashions, yea and some foule, grieuous, & feareful to beholde, but yet vnto them, it seemed a thing delectable. So this ignorant people giuing credite to y condēned spirite, were growen euen to y highest hill of crueltie, vnder the colour of deuout & religious persons, yea they had suche a custome, that before they would eat or drinke, they would take thereof a little quantitie, & offer it vnto the sun and to the earth. And if they gathered coyne, fruite, or roses, they would take a lease before they would smel it, & offer the same. And he that did not obserue these & such other ceremonies, was iudged one y had not god in his  
 hart

hart, yea (as they say) a man out of the gods fauour,

## The Viceroyes of Mexico.



The greatnesse of the newes Spayne, the Hatefullie of Mexico, and the qualitie of the conquerers, required a man of noble bloude to gouerne, whereupon the Emperour sente thither *Don Antonio de Mendosa*, brother vnto the Marques de *Moniar*, for viceroy, at whose arrival there returned from thence *Sebastian Camires*, who had gouerned that countrey with great discretion and worthy commendation. In recompence wherof the Emperour made him president of the chancery of *Valladolid*, and bishop of *Culuca*, *Don Antonio de Mendosa* was appointed viceroy in the yeare. 1534. who carried with him many artificers verie experte in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in Mexico: he also caused silke to be made and wrought in that countrey, and planted many Mulbery trees for the same, although the Indians little care for suche things through their slothfulnesse and gret liberty. This viceroy *Don Antonio*, called all the Bishoppes, cleargy, and learned men together, to consult vpo ecclesiastical matters, which tended to the doctrine of the Indians. At that instant was decreed, that the Indians shoulde be instructed only in the latin tong, which they learned verie wel and also the Spanishe tong. They learne the Musicke with god wil, especially the claute: their voyces are not good for the prycke song. At that season was also decreed, that no Indian shoulde take order of Priestthod.

The



The viceroy *Don Antonio* built certaine towne with Romaine pillers, in honor of the Emperour, and caused his name to be grauen in Marble. He also began the Bay of wharfe in the porte of *Medellin*, a costly and necessarie worke: he also reduced the *Chichimecas* to ciuel liuing: he spented much money in the entraunce of *Sibola*, without any profit, and also thereby remayned an enemy to *Cortes*. He likewise discovered much land on the south coast neare *Xalisco*; he sente also shippes to *Molluca*, for spices, which were lost: he behaued himself very prudently in the rebellion time of the Indians of *Piru*.

The Emperour commaunded him afterwarde to goe vnto the *Piru* for viceroy, considering the licenciad *Gasca*, who gouerned there, was returned into Spain, and likewise hauing vnderstood his good gouernement in the newe Spaine, although some complaintes were made of hym. It grieued *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, to departe from the newe Spaine, where he founde himselfe wel beloued among the Indians, who had cured him of sundry diseases with bathes of Herbes, where befoze he was starke lame, and also possessed of lands, Cattell, and other rich things, whiche he was loth to leaue. Likewise he desired not to haue to deale with other newe men, whose conditions he knewe not, although he knewe that the *Piruleros* were stubborne and unruly fellows. But of necessity he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from *Mexico* to *Panama*, which standeth five hundred leagues distant, in the yeare 1531. And that yere came *Don Luys de Valasco* for viceroy to *Mexico*, who was a Gentleman wise and discrete in his gouernement. The office of viceroy in the newe Spaine, is a charge of great honor and profite.

## The conuersion of the Indians.



How greatly are those *Indians* bound to prayse God, who being seruants of Satan, and lost Sheepe, yet it pleased the godnesse of the Almighty to haue compassion of the, who hath giuen them light to come out of darkenesse, and brought them to the knowledge of theyr cruell and abhominable life, and hath now giuen vnto them the holy Ghost in baptisme: oh most happie *Cortes*, thy paynes was well employed, oh valiant Conquerors, your names shall liue for ever. I am now bolde to saye, that all that lande which is conquered in the new *Spaine*, the people thereof are generally conuerted vnto the faith of Iesus Chryste: oh what a greate felicitie is it vnto those blessed kyngs who were the beginners thereof.

Some doe saye, that in the newe *Spayne* onely are conuerted Christians five Millions. Others hold opinion of eyght Millions. And other some doe assuredly affirme, that aboue tenne Millions are Christened. But in conclusion, I am assured, that within the limittes of four hundred leagues, there are none vnchristened.

The conuersion began with the Conquest, but w<sup>th</sup> the diligence in prosecuting the warres, little good was done, vntyll the yeare 1524. and then the matter wente forwarde effectuallye, by reason that certayne learned menne wente thither for the same purpose.

At the beginning it was a troublesome thyng to teach them, for wante of vnderstandyng the one of the other, wherefore they procured to teache the chylzen of Gentlemen whiche were most aptest, the *Spanishe* tong,  
ffl. and

and they likewise learned the *Mexican* speche, in the whiche language they dayly preached. It was at the firste a paynfull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they hadde cuer belæued, yea and the Diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and manye times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threatening, that if they wold call vpon the name of Iesus Christ, it should not rayne, and that all their delight and pleasure should be taken from them, prouoking them still to Rebellion against the Christians, but his wicked counsell would not preuaile.

Through greate punishmente they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomy, although it was a great griefe to put away their number of wines.

There are nowe in the newe Spayne eyght Bishops, sixes, whereof one is an Archbishoplike.

### The death of Hernando

*Cortes.*



Here was a greate contention betwene Hernando Cortes, and Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Vizeroy, as concerning the prouince of *Sibola*, for each of them pretended a title vnto the same through the Emperours gift, the one by meanes of his office of Vizeroy, and the other by his office of Captayne Generall, vpon the whyche matter they grewe into such hatred, that perfyte friendshipde coulde neuer after take place betwene them, although at the beginning they were familiar and louing friendes: but malice grewe to suche extremities, that eache of them wrote vndercently agaynste other, to the Emperoure they maister, the



the whyche theyr doyngs blemished both theyr credites.

Cortes wente to lawe with the Licenciat *Villa Lobos* the Kings Attourney, aboute certayne of his vassals, and also the Rizeroy assisted agaynst him as muche as hee myghte. Upon consideration whereof, he was enforced to come into Spayne in Anno 1540. and broughte *Don Martin* his sonne and heyre, beýng a childe of eyght peares of age, and hys sonne *Don Luy*, to serue the Prince: he came very riche, but not so riche as the fyrste tyme. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinal *Loaisa*, and the Secretarie *Cobos*, but it pzeuapled not, for the Emperoure was gone into flanders about matters of Gant.

In the yeare 1541. the Emperoure personally wente to the sarge of Argell with a mightie armye, and Cortes with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him with a good companye of men and Horses, but it pleased God to raise vp suche a tempest, wherewith the most parte of the flate perished. Cortes then being in the Galley of *Don Henrike Enrikes*, called the *Esperanca*, and fearing to lose his rich emraldes and other Jewels at the time that the Galley was driuen by violence of weather vpon the shoze, he then bound about him the sayde fyue rich emraldes, esteemed in a hundzed thousande Duckates, yet notwithstanding through the throng of people, and haff to escape out of oese and mire, the Jewels fell from him, who could neuer heare moze of them, so that the present warres cost hym moze than any other, except the Emperours maiestie, although *Andrea de Oria* lost eleuen Gallays.

But the losse of treasure graued hym not so much, as the excludng hym out of the Counsell of the warres, where as other yong Gentlemen of lesse knowledge

ff. y.

and

and abilitie were accepted, which was a cause of greates murmuring among the host. And where in the counsell of warre it was determined to leaue the siege and to depart, it greeued manye, whereupon Cortes made an open offer, that he alone with the Spanishe nation would presume to take *Argell*, hauping but the one halfe of the *Tu-DESCOS* and *Italians*, if it would please the Emperoure to graunte vnto hym the enterprise. The Souldyers on the lande dyd hyghly commende hys courage, but the Sea menne would giue no eare vnto him, so that it is thoughte that the offer came not to the Emperoures knowledge. Cortes wente by and downe in the Courte a long season, being soze afflicted in a certaine sute aboute hys bassals, and also the processe and allegations of *Nunio de Guzman*, layde vnto hys charge in hys residence. The whole processe was sene in the counsell of *India*, but iudgemente was neuer pronouncd, whyche was a greate hartes ease for Cortes. And then hee departed from the Courte towarde *Siuill*, with determinato wyll to passe vnto the newe Spayne, and to ende his lyfe in *Mexico*, and also to receyue the Lady *Mary*, Cortes hys daughter, who was come from *India*, and promised in marriage vnto *Don Aluar Perez Osorio*, with a hundred thousande Duckates in dowry, and hys apparell, but the marriage toke no effeate, through the faulte of *Don Aluar* and hys father.

He then fell sicke of a fire and indigestion, whiche endured long, so that on hys iourney towarde the Citie of *Siuill*, he departed thys transitory lyfe, in a little Village called *Castilleia de La Cuesta*, whych standeth a myle from the Citie of *Siuill*, on the seconde of December Anno 1547. beeyng thyscote and thys peares of age:

His body was deposited w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> dukes of *Medina sidonia*.

He

He left a Sonne and three Daughters begotten of the Lady Iane de Zuniga his wife, his Sonne was called Don Martin Cortes, who did inherite his fathers estate, and was married unto the Lady Ana de Arellano, his cousine, daughter to the Countie De Aguilar, by order of his father.

The daughters unto Cortes were named as foloweth, the lady Donea Maria, Donea Catalina, and Donea Luana who was the yongest. He had another Sonne by an Indian woman, and he was called Don Martin Cortes. He had also another base sonne by a Spaniſh woman, who was named Don Luys Cortes, and three daughters by three ſeueral Indian women.

Cortes buyt an hospitall in Mexico, and gaue order for a Colledge to be also erected there. He builde also a Temple in Coioacan, where he willed in his Testament that his bones shoulde be buried at the charges of his Sonne and heyre. He situated foure thousand Ducates of rent,

whiche yeeldeth yearly his houses in Mexico

for the purpose aforesayd, of the which

foure thousande Ducates, two

thousand should be to maynteyne

the Students in

the Colledge.

(.)

FINIS.



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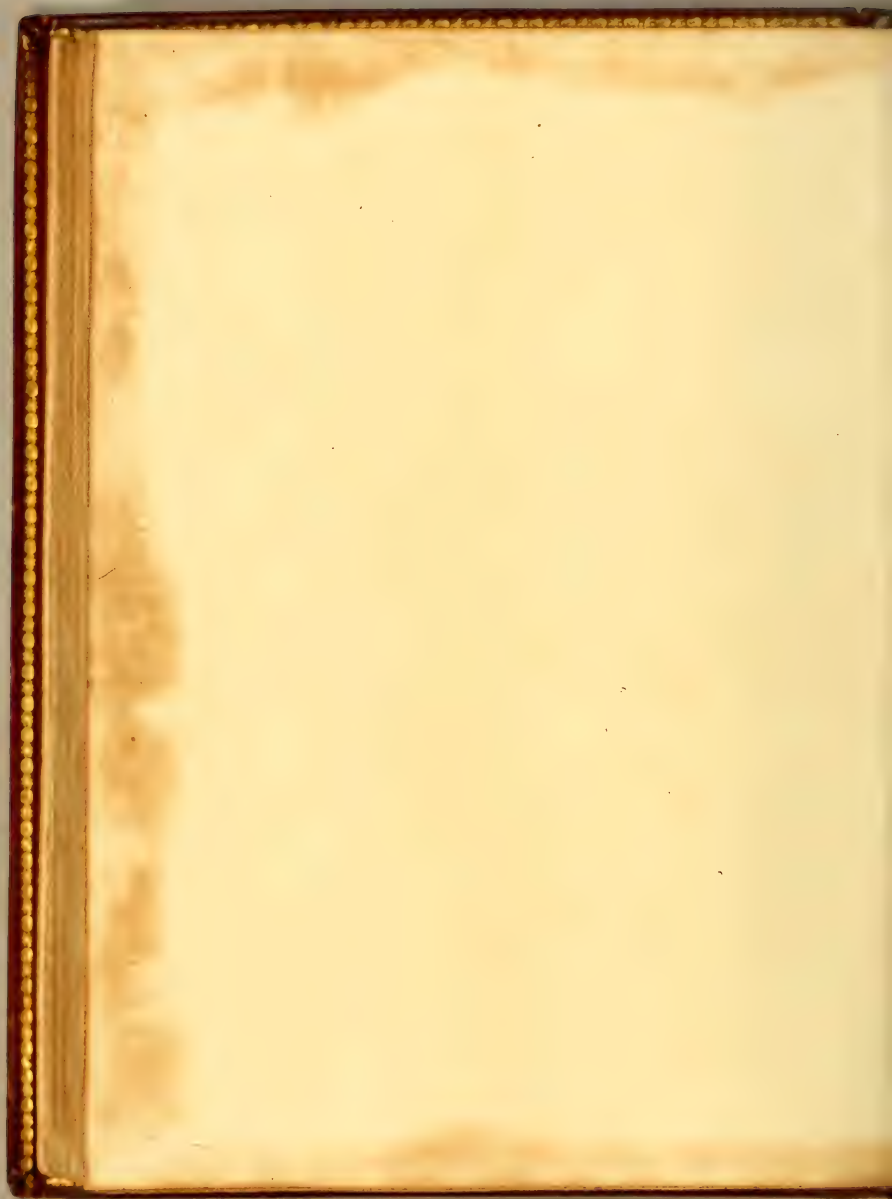
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